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ŠAUŠGA AND THE HITTITE IVORY FROM MEGIDDO

ROBERT L. ALEXANDER, *University of Iowa, Iowa City*

EXCAVATIONS in 1937 at Megiddo in Palestine revealed a cache of ivories that included a small plaque of great interest to Hittitologists (figs. 1 and 2). Although its subject matter and style immediately linked it with the Hittite world, discovery in an area outside Hittite rule provoked serious questions concerning its artistic as well as geographical origins. Its possessor, in any case, was continually reminded of the Hittites, for the well-preserved portions of the plaque show extensive wear. Perhaps an attachment to a piece of furniture or the cover of a box, it was constantly fingered and rubbed, as the abrasion goes beyond outer surfaces, and details on the sides of the relief forms are worn smooth. Additional physical deterioration occurring underground added to the excavator's difficulties in restoring its original appearance. The composition has attracted much attention, so that the piece has been mentioned in many studies and the first restoration drawing frequently reproduced.¹

The small ivory is crowded with figures. Along the bottom two pairs of affronted bulls stand on mounds of earth and stone, while the two broad winged disks of the Sun-god hover across the top. In between are four rows of eight to eleven figures, each supporting those above in an atlantid composition. A few multi-leaved plants and pomegranates provide additional support, and numerous rosettes fill vacant areas. Three figures—Mountain-god, bull-man, and a damaged figure—form a central axis of symmetry that helps organize and clarify the tightly packed composition.

Despite some early questioning of the nature of the plaque—ivory panels are far more numerous in the Syro-Palestinian world than the Hittite—now it is generally recognized as a product of the late Hittite Empire (thirteenth century B.C.). Undoubted Hittite examples authenticate the extensive atlantid organization, including figures with arms raised in support, and the emphatic symmetry that was a great aid in restoring the composition. Add the rhythmic disposition of parts, here vertical as well as horizontal, and the self-containment resulting from figures turning inward toward the central axis, and the panel exhibits the design practices characteristic of thirteenth-century Hittite artists. By purposefully alternating the figural accents from row to row, the designer

¹ Gordon Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories* (Chicago, 1939), pp. 10–11 and 14, pl. 11; idem, "The Hittites at Megiddo?," in *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1938), vol. 2, pp. 557–58 and figs. Further bibliography appears in Jutta Börker-Klähn and Christoph Börker, "Eflatun Pinar," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen*

Instituts 90 (1975): 25, n. 70. See also Richard D. Barnett, *Ancient Ivories in the Middle East and Adjacent Countries*, Qedem: Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology, vol. 14 (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 28, 34, and fig. 12. The piece, Oriental Institute Museum No. A 22292, is almost square, 10 cm high and 9.5 cm wide, and 12 mm thick. Dowel holes in the side and bottom edges indicate that it was held in a larger mounting, and parts of a narrow border survive on all four sides. I am much indebted to the director and staff of the Museum for facilitating my study of this plaque and to Hans G. Güterbock for much discussion of it.



FIG. 1.—Hittite ivory plaque from Megiddo. Photo courtesy of Oriental Institute Museum, The University of Chicago.

avoided the monotony of parallel columns of figures and increased the decorative richness. The whole array establishes an overall visual texture punctuated by the V-shaped pattern of upraised arms, and the few figures not in that pose—animals, Sun-gods at the top, and the third figure in the central column—stand out in contrast. Another kind of texture arises from use of the craftsman's blade to score and shape the surface areas. Most figures are enriched, not in a realistic representation (except perhaps in some of the feathering), but with abstract textures.²

² Arguments for the Hittite identification and date were effectively presented by Helene J. Kantor, "Syro-Palestinian Ivories," *JNES* 15 (1956): 155–56, n. 8. On the characteristics of Hittite art in the thirteenth century, see my *The Sculpture and Sculptors of Yazılıkaya* (Newark, London, and Toronto, 1986), pp. 24–25. On the atlantid formation, see Pierre Amiet, "Notes sur le répertoire iconographique de Mari à l'époque du palais," *Syria* 37 (1960): 221–29.

tors of *Yazılıkaya* (Newark, London, and Toronto, 1986), pp. 24–25. On the atlantid formation, see Pierre Amiet, "Notes sur le répertoire iconographique de Mari à l'époque du palais," *Syria* 37 (1960): 221–29.



FIG. 2.—Restoration of the Megiddo ivory. Drawing by D. Alvarado

The style of the figures, on comparison with large and small representations in stone and bronze, shows a Hittite emphasis on broad surfaces, forms enclosed by long continuous lines, exaggeration of the globular heads and muscular limbs, and diminution of the torso. These forms are owed in part to a technical procedure suggested by prick marks still visible along the outlines of the top Mountain-god and the lion-man to the far right. Rather than a pointed, needle-like implement, however, the marks suggest that a fine, narrow blade was used to silhouette the figure, following a design drawn on the original surface. (While the craftsman was detailing the sides of the robe of the upper Mountain-god and the kilt of the neighboring lion-man, his knife slipped and made some of the prick marks in the background.) Material between the figures was then shaved down to the background. The artisan cut in at a slant around the contours to increase the height and bulk of the figures; although several forms have broken away, their shapes have survived owing to the degree of relief. This procedure resulted in the

bold forms resembling monumental Hittite rock sculpture. Then the craftsman rounded the edges and modeled the forms to achieve the high degree of plasticity evident in, for example, the Sun-god, a parallel to the plasticity of figure 64 at Yazılıkaya, the portrait of Great King Tudhaliya IV. The head, shoulders, and arms are massive, and carefully delineated spatial relationships distinguish the multiple layers of the garments in their fall over the body and from the outstretched arm. Such profile figures as the bull-man in the central column and the bulls along the bottom show great care in the shaping of near and far legs and the mass of the intervening body. Yet, at the same time, the thin raised wall of ivory forming the tail of the two-headed winged lion (at the ends of the row above the bulls) attests to the delicacy of the worker's miniaturist technique. Finally, the artisan worked the small features and details and the surface textures.³

Modeling is assertively three-dimensional, with rounded masses as well as overlapping forms rising two to three millimeters above the background. Individual figures are very consciously modeled, the waistline slightly lower in relief and the adjacent surfaces rising outward to the chest and abdomen. The locks of the Hathor-headed sphinx show different degrees of relief as they move back and forth in space, following the levels of the head, neck, and body. Forms are conceived in three dimensions; the eye, nose, and mouth are correctly represented on profile heads, for example, Sun-god, two-headed lion, lower Mountain-god. The concern for achieving three dimensions appears in such details as the kilt, where the outer end is raised above the inner layers wrapped around the body, and in wings, where the tips of a range of feathers rise to overlap the next range.

Subject matter, too, provides evidence of Hittite origins. Some elements are purely Hittite, for example, the mantled figure topped by a winged disk, identified by the hieroglyphs over his hand as the Sun-god of Heaven, and the winged two-headed lion, its leonine head worn to an almost featureless boss above the breast but the upper, human head with the conical tiara of a Hittite deity still very clear. The seated wingless sphinx with Hathor locks probably is a Hittite creation, and while the bull-man and kneeling bull-demon appear throughout the ancient Near East, the bull-man in the central column is a virtual duplicate of those in the imperial sanctuary at Yazılıkaya. Other figures occur in the larger Syro-Hittite world, for example, the bulls with lowered heads, although the decorative markings on their flanks are Hittite, and the Mountain-god wearing a robe decorated by overlapping scales, located at the top of the central axis and as the third figure from each side in the row just above the bulls. The Janus-headed lion-man, appearing on either side of the Sun-god, is unknown in other Hittite works, but does occur in Syrian glyptic, especially seals of the Hurrian people, during the sixteenth to fourteenth centuries B.C. Rosettes, plants, and pomegranates appear frequently in the arts of the Hittite Empire.⁴

³ For the portrait of Tudhaliya IV, see Kurt Bittel et al., *Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazılıkaya* (Berlin, 1975), pl. 39.

⁴ For the sphinx with Hathor locks, see A. Des-senne, *Le Sphinx* (Paris, 1957), pp. 165–66, no. 336; R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories* (London, 1957), pp. 37, 84–85; and Jeanny Vorys Canby, "The Walters Gallery Cappadocian Tablet and the Sphinx in Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C.," *JNES* 34 (1975): 240–42. For the bull-

man (figures 28–29), see Bittel, *Yazılıkaya*, pl. 19. For the Janus-headed lion-man in Syrian and Hurrian cylinder seal designs, see Louis Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres, cachets, et pierres gravées de style oriental* (Musée du Louvre), 2 vols. (Paris, 1921–23), no. 689; and Edith Porada, *Seal Impressions of Nuzi*, AASOR 24 (New Haven, 1947), p. 72, and nos. 530, 781, and 828–30. Though winged, these lion-men are associated with the sun standard and thus are the best antecedents for the

Perhaps the most individual of these images is the winged two-headed lion, so striking an image that it survived with little change through the Neo-Hittite centuries. A composite beast, its basis is the body of a lion with its head held low (markedly different from the type with elongated neck and leonine head held high). The addition of wings parallels Near Eastern use of wings on the sphinx acquired from Egypt and makes the animal more than an ordinary lion. Above the neck is added a divinizing element, the human head with the tall, conical, Hittite tiara. Representations from later centuries stress the continuity of the body, neck, and animal head, and show that the divine head was understood as an addition either by its relation to the contour of the neck or by its placement on the animal (occasionally above the head). One other example from the Empire is known, on the gold seal ring from Konya, where the animal carries the goddess Šausga. In both of these imperial examples, the mane has been carried upward to fuse the upper elongated neck with the body and simulate a naturalistic appearance. A parallel alteration occurs in the one other known use of the divinizing head, on figure 81 at Yazılıkaya, the Sword-god. Here addorsed lion protomes carry the neck and head, and the partial animal bodies have been anthropomorphized as the upper part of a human torso. The notch of the sternum and the vertical division of the rib-cage are clear and represent the artist's attempt to endow the unusual creation with credibility; similar attempts can be seen in other composite beings such as the sphinx and bull-man. Nevertheless, Neo-Hittite sculptors recognized the leonine body and head as the basic form for the two-headed lion; at Carchemish the heavy outline separates the neck and the tiaraed head, while at Tell Halaf, the sculptors placed the divinizing head over the leonine one.⁵

wingless lion-men supporting the winged sun disk on the Megiddo plaque. Several examples of the lion-man appear in Neo-Hittite art, most of them supporting the disk; only one, from Tell Halaf, is two-headed; Winfried Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst* (Bonn, 1971), pp. 310-16, and pl. 11, T. Halaf A3/162.

On the image of the Mountain-god, see Kurt Bittel et al., *Boğazköy III* (Berlin, 1957), pp. 25-28; and U. Bahadır Alkım, *Yeşemek* (Ankara, 1974), pp. 94-104. The use of overlapping scales in horizontal rows to mark the robe of the Mountain-god developed in Mesopotamia. Triangular scales in defined horizontal rows, as on the god at the top of the center column of the ivory, are rare; the only parallel is Mesopotamian, of the Old Babylonian period, in Edith Porada, ed., *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, 2 vols., The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library, Bollingen Series 14 (Washington, 1948), vol. 1, no. 391. I believe the triangular form on the ivory resulted from the craftsman's technique. He marked out the scales by a series of crossing diagonal incisions over the robe, then he rounded them so that the original geometrical shape became less obvious, and later wear has rounded them still more. The triangular incisions are partially visible in the Mountain-god in the bottom row of figures, but the rounding of the shapes predominates. Representation of the Mountain-god as a torso emerging from

a conical pile of less regular scales, more like a pile of rocks, occasionally appears in Syria. The seal Louvre AO 20138 shows the two forms of the scale in the same composition; see my article "The Tyskiewicz Group of Stamp-Cylinders," *Anatolica* 5 (1973-76): 159-60 and pls. 1-2.

Of other costume elements represented on the plaque, the robe of the Sun-god and the kilt occur frequently in Hittite art. A few figures wear a long mantle covering the back leg, a type occurring also at Yazılıkaya and Eflatun Pınar. Close inspection suggests that the tiaras were not spiked but essentially conical and later much worn. Loud's drawing of the tiara (minus the tassel) worn by the two-headed lion is a reliable reconstruction of a very difficult passage. The headdress of the Mountain-god at the top, however, is lost above the headband; it probably was a conical tiara.

Rosettes, plants, and pomegranates occur frequently in late imperial works. Seals are among the objects showing all three; D. G. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals* (Oxford, 1920), no. 191, and Rainer M. Boehmer and H. G. Güterbock, *Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet von Boğazköy* (Berlin, 1987), nos. 162, 214.

⁵ For the winged two-headed lion, see Jenny Dandamville, "Iconographie d'Istar-Šausga en Anatolie ancienne," *RA* 56 (1962): 122-29. She considers the non-Hittite, imperial Hittite, and Neo-Hittite examples, materials reconsidered by Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst*, pp. 348-50.

Two significant questions surround the identity of this animal, whether it is the same beast as the *awiti* described in a text as the support for a statue of the goddess Šaušga, and what its relationship is to Šaušga. Texts describe two statues of Šaušga, with a supporting lion in one and the *awiti* in the other. In both, the animal has wings, but neither text mentions two heads. On the Konya ring the beast lacks wings, and it seems reasonable to assume that the engraver wished to avoid concealing part of the deity. Because the goddess, herself winged, stands over the supportive animal attribute, it does not need them for identification. Characteristic details are omitted in many circumstances; for example, of all the known representations of Šaušga—and there are not many for so popular a deity—not one has all the signs and attributes that identify her. On the Megiddo ivory, and in all later examples, the animal's separation from the deity requires that both the divinizing head and the wings be present for clear and specific identification, a necessity for effective use of symbols.⁶

No one seems to have called the animal an *attribute* of Šaušga. Yet, because she holds a leash to the collar of the animal on the Konya ring and is described with an unusual animal as support in the two texts, a close relationship exists between the deity and the animal mount. The same relationship—restraining the animal attribute by a leash—appears frequently in images of the Storm-god over a bull, beginning as early as the Assyrian Colony period and continuing in the Empire period. Although Šarruma's animal attribute is not certain, in Yazılıkaya figure 44, the earliest anthropomorphic representation of the god, he stands on a leashed lion, a group repeated at Darende and, without the leash, at Malatya. It seems probable that, as a parallel, the two-headed lion was an attribute of Šaušga.⁷

She concludes that the beast was created in the Hittite Empire, a conclusion accepted by Dessenne (*Le Sphinx*, p. 96) and confirmed by the limitation of the later spread of the motif to the Neo-Hittite world. For the Konya gold signet ring, see Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, no. 195; Ekrem Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites* (New York, 1962), pl. 52; and Kurt Bittel, *Les Hittites* (Paris, 1976), fig. 237. For the Sword-god, see Bittel, *Yazılıkaya*, pp. 163–64, 191–92, and pls. 50–51; the representation of the sternum can be compared with that on the leonine guardians (figures 67–68), *ibid.*, pl. 43. Use of the tiaraed head as a method of indicating a deity has long been recognized; see E. Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* (Berlin, 1914), p. 100, for the Sword-god, and for the two-headed lion, Dessenne, *Le Sphinx*, p. 95. The conical tiara alone was used to indicate that animals were deities; see examples in Canby, "The Walters Gallery Cappadocian Tablet," pp. 240–42, to which add the two calves at Yazılıkaya (figures 42a–43a) symbolizing Šarruma (Bittel, *Yazılıkaya*, pp. 150–52, 170–71, and pls. 27–29); the long-necked bull of the Storm-god on a seal in the Oriental Institute (Hans Henning von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Brett* [Chicago, 1936], no. 89); and perhaps the lion of Hepat (?) on an impression excavated at Boğazköy (Boehmer and Güterbock, *Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet*, no. 182).

⁶ For the descriptions of the images, see Liane Rost, "Zu den hethitischen Bildbeschreibungen," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 8 (1961): 174–76. Identification of the two-headed lion with the *awiti* is not certain; see H. G. Güterbock, "Hethitischer Götterbilder und Kultobjekte," in R. M. Boehmer and H. Hauptmann, eds., *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasien: Festschrift für Kurt Bittel* (Mainz, n.d.), pp. 204–5.

⁷ For the Storm-god over a leashed bull, see Nancy Westneat Leinwand, "A Study of Anatolian Weathergods of the Old Assyrian Colony Period" (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1984), p. 33, pls. 1–7, etc.; and for the Empire, seal impressions Tarsus 42 (Hetty Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus*, vol. 2 [Princeton, 1956], no. 42); seal of Initešub (Claude F.-A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica III* [Paris, 1956], fig. 34); seal of Hišmi-Tešub, brother of Initešub (Dominique Beyer, "Le Sceau-cylindre de Shahurunuwa, roi de Karkemish," in *La Syrie au Bronze récent: Recueil publié à l'occasion du cinquantième de la découverte d'Ougarit—Ras Shamra* [Paris, 1982], fig. 7); and other examples from Emar (Dominique Beyer, "Les Empreintes de sceaux," in *Meskéné-Emar, dix ans de travaux 1972–1982* [Paris, 1982], fig. 12; and *idem*, "Quelques observations sur les sceaux-cylindres hittites et syro-hittites d'Emar," *Hethitica* 8 [1987]: fig. 1 d, f, h). For figure 44 at Yazılıkaya, see Bittel, *Yazılıkaya*, pls.



FIG. 3.—Detail of fig. 1

In consideration of the condition of the plaque, the feat of restoring its original appearance must be admired. The figures in the center offered special difficulties because they lacked symmetrical duplicates. On the basis of understanding gained from more recent studies, a new identification is presented here for the most deteriorated of the central figures (fig. 3). Below the Mountain-god and bull-man are remnants of a frontal figure, the shoulders, arms, and torso certain, but legs and feet and the head severely damaged. Because the arms are not raised, the shoulder structure is more fully modeled than that of other figures. Rather than another Mountain-god as first restored, the relief of the breast and the roundness of the belly suggest a nude female. Although the area is worn smooth, the breast has an abrupt high relief rather than rising gradually from the waistline as it does in all the other figures, and there certainly is no beard. Thus the figure is markedly different from others on the plaque, and positive signs denote it as female. The nude female is a common figure in the art of Anatolia and Syria during the second millennium B.C., often as a form of Ishtar, goddess of fecundity. In the Hittite Empire she bears the Hurrian name Šaušga, and, like Ishtar, she may also be a bellicose deity. Hittite representations customarily show her nude or partially covered, the clothing pulled aside to reveal her female nature. The shoulder remnants on the plaque are not clear enough to certify partial nudity, and the upper torso has been rubbed smooth. Nevertheless, the long history of this unusual frontal image not only supports the identification and restoration of the figure on the Megiddo ivory as Šaušga, but offers also a key to an explanation of the program carved into the tiny plaque.⁸

26, 29–30; for the Darende and Malatya repetitions, E. Laroche, "Le Dieu anatolien Sarrumma," *Syria* 40 (1963): figs. 8, 9.

⁸ The basic studies on Šaušga are Danmanville, "Iconographie d'Ištar-Šaušga en Anatolie ancienne," *RA* 56 [1962]: 9–30, 113–31, 175–90; and Machteld J. Mellink, "A Hittite Figurine from Nuzi," in K. Bittel et al., eds., *Vorderasiatische Archäologie* (Berlin, 1964), pp. 155–64, pl. 20; see also Anton Moortgat, *The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia* (London and New York, 1969), p. 113. Many pertinent

examples appear in Marie-Thérèse Barrelet, "Les Déeses armées et ailées," *Syria* 32 (1955): 222–60, esp. pp. 237–47. Orthmann surveys the history of this image and gives bibliography in *Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst*, pp. 279–85. More recent is the discussion in R. D. Barnett, "A Winged Goddess of Wine on an Electrum Plaque," *Anatolian Studies* 30 (1980): 173–75. Mitanni and Syrian examples have been pointed out by Edith Porada, "Of Professional Seal Cutters and Non-professionally Made Seals," in M. Gibson and

Some aspects of the form and meaning of the goddess are present in Syria and Anatolia at the beginning of the second millennium B.C., although the name of the figure is uncertain. Frontal, her nudity often receives emphasis from the representation of her last garment held in one hand or still covering one leg. At times the figure has wings, and a large foliate wreath may surround her. This form of the nude goddess may be a Syrian and Hurrian tradition, for the presence of the garment shown inside the wreath is documented on Syrian seal impressions of the Assyrian Colony period in the early second millennium. She occurs with other figures, frequently with the Storm-god and thus pairing the powers of fertility and water. In reduced versions, she faces the Storm-god, holding the garment stretched out to either side to reveal her nude body; and she may stand over a bull. In one example, dated to the sixteenth century B.C., both deities stand over bulls, an image from a seal impression that probably was made in south-eastern Anatolia and sent to Hattuša, where it was excavated.⁹

The representation of the frontal nude holding garment and wreath had a long life, appearing much later in a molded terracotta plaque and a stone mold for casting metal plaques, indications of the popularity of the image. The plaque is dated by its excavation from Level III at Alalakh to the fourteenth century B.C. (fig. 4); the mold lacks provenance and date. In both, the figure stands in an almond-shaped wreath of vegetation that rises beside her feet from a mound that has additional vegetation growing to either side; the wreath rises to a winged sun-disk over the figure's head, and where she grasps it on either side she also holds birds (doves?). Each hand also holds the outspread robe, the edges of which descend toward her knees and curl out at the bottom. The two differ greatly in style and technique, but the most significant difference is in the conical

R. D. Biggs, eds., *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East* (Malibu, 1977), pp. 10–11 and 14, n. 40; and idem, "The Cylinder Seals found at Thebes in Boeotia," *AfO* 28 (1981): 40–41, no. 22. Perhaps several more are among the nude, armed, and winged goddesses treated in Dominique Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh* (Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1975), pp. 182–83, pls. 19–20. Amiet pulls together the several variant images to suggest developments in representing the goddess during the second millennium; Pierre Amiet, "Jalons pour une interprétation du répertoire des sceaux-cylindres syriens au II^e millénaire," *Akkadica* 28 (1982): 19–40, esp. pp. 23–31. For an extensive treatment of texts dealing with Šaušga, see Ilse Wegner, *Gestalt und Kult der Ištar-Šawuška in Kleinasien* (Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1981); see pp. 33–43 for representations of Šaušga.

For the identification of this figure on the ivory as Šaušga, I am much indebted to Roberta J. M. Olson, of Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts, who made a study of the piece for a class in 1970. She suggested also the restoration of pomegranates instead of boucrania below the lowest row of figures and rosettes instead of boxes in the uppermost row; these parts of the ivory are very worn. Some other changes have been noted earlier. The falcon head of the figure kneeling before the Sun-god appears in

Henri Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Baltimore, 1954), fig. 57. Helene J. Kantor noted the leonine head of the two-headed lion and the Hittite markings on the bulls; *ibid.*, p. 248, n. 58, and Kantor, "A 'Syro-Hittite' Treasure in the Oriental Institute Museum," *JNES* 16 (1957): 151–52.

⁹ For this type in the Assyrian Colony period, see Nimet Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group of Cylinder Seal Impressions from Kültepe* (Ankara, 1965), nos. 11 (facing Storm-god) and 70–71 (with Storm-god and holding wreath); and Lubor Matouš, *Inscriptions cunéiformes du Kültepe*, vol. 2 (Prague, 1962), pl. 98, Ka 281 seal E (with Storm-god; with bull-man and holding garment); see also my article "Native Group Cylinder Seal Engravers of Karum Kanish Level II," *Belleten* 43 (1979): 617, n. 67. For a Colony period lead statuette of this figure, with wings, see Sedat Alp, "Ištar auf dem Karahöyük," *Mélanges Mansel* (Ankara, 1974), pp. 703–7, pls. 225–26. For the frontal nude with both garment and wreath, see Sedat Alp, *Zylinder- und Stempelsiegel aus Karahöyük bei Konya* (Ankara, 1968), pp. 119–20, pls. 35–36. For the partially nude female over a bull and facing the Storm-god, see Porada, *Corpus*, nos. 967–68. For the seal impression from south-eastern Anatolia, see Boehmer and Güterbock, *Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet*, no. 147.

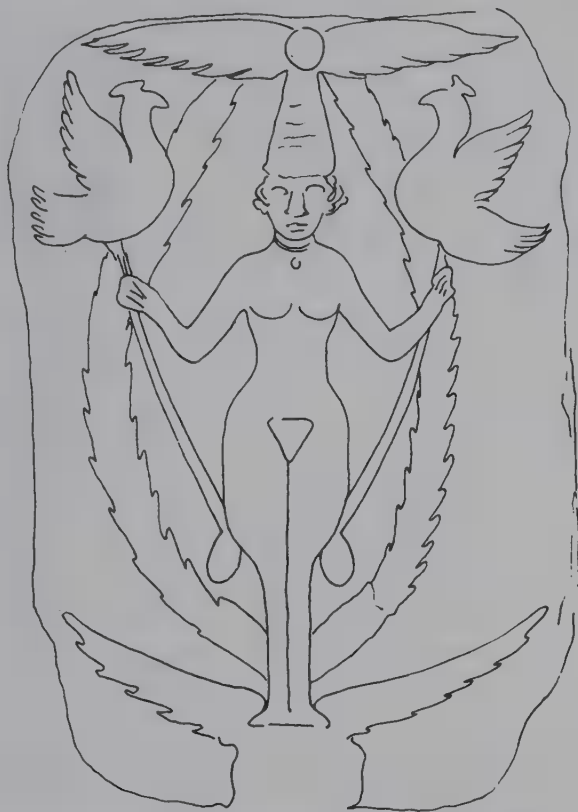


FIG. 4.—Šaušga on a terracotta plaque from Alalakh. Drawing by S. Palamara

tiara worn on the Alalakh piece. This divine headdress marks the terracotta as Hittite, despite the northern Syrian findspot, but it also introduces a sexual ambivalence as this tiara is properly male attire.¹⁰

Two variations of this image appear in examples to be dated in the late thirteenth century B.C. Recently identified in the rock relief at Imamkulu, Šaušga is represented as a frontal nude with wings (fig. 5). She holds her robe out to either side, its edges rippling downward and its interior revealing a zigzag pattern of decoration or quilting. Flowers

¹⁰ Leonard Woolley, *Alalakh* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 247–48, pl. 54 o; see also Barrelet, “Deux déesses syro-phéniciennes sur un bronze du Louvre,” *Syria* 35 (1958): 42; von der Osten, *Altorientalische Siegelsteine der Sammlung Hans Silvius von Aulock* (Uppsala, 1957), pp. 12, 155, no. 356. Alp (“Ištar,” pp. 706–7, pls. 228–29) cites and illustrates both examples. The mold has been dated from “pre-Hittite” to the middle of the second millennium, but the almost exact iconographic correspondence suggests the two works cannot be very far apart chrono-

logically unless the terracotta, in using a very old motif, is an example of archaizing in the Empire. With respect to sexual ambivalence, in Hurrian religious texts Šaušga was referred to as both male and female; Emmanuel Laroche, in Claude F.-A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica V* (Paris, 1968), p. 522; see also Wegner, *Ištar-Šawuška*, pp. 46–55; and Wolfgang Heimpel, “A Catalog of Near Eastern Venus Deities,” *Syro-Mesopotamian Studies*, vol. 4/3 (Malibu, 1982), pp. 11–22, esp. 14–15.

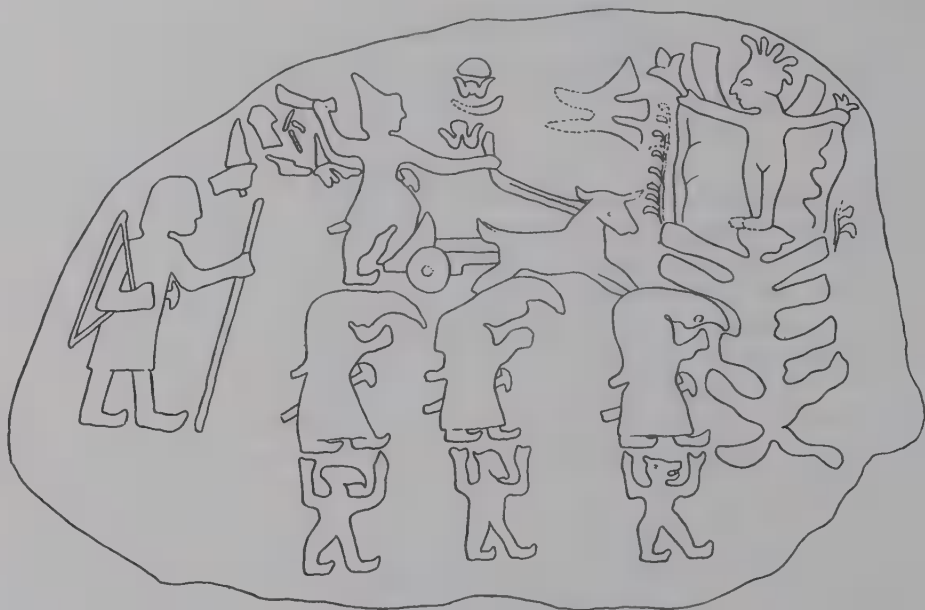


FIG. 5.—Hittite relief at Imamkulu. Drawing by D. Alvarado

rise from each hand and decorate her headdress, and perhaps vegetal elements flank the outspread robe, all symbolizing fertility. Adjacent to the goddess is another attribute, a flying bird. The second example is in the upper frieze of the stamp-cylinder Louvre AO 20138 where the frontal nude female holds a vase close to her body. Although she is wingless, her robe spreads out beside her body and legs. Instead of vegetal abundance, water accompanies her and emphasizes her fertility symbolism. Streams descend from a guilloche and a cup at the top of the frieze to fill the vase, and overflowing water spills to the ground. In these two examples some details have been changed so that the basic image might acquire more specific meanings, perhaps on the demand of the patrons. Both show the robe behind the body, and a similar robe is here restored on the Megiddo plaque.¹¹

By mid-millennium the early, partially nude form was converted into figures in the round, and the name Šaušga is linked with this goddess. From the fifteenth century

¹¹ Markus Wäfler, "Zum Felsrelief von Imamkulu," *MDOG* 107 (1975): 17–26. Erosion and some flaking of the stone obscure many details of the Imamkulu relief, for example, the feet of the goddess. Numerous fragments of relief flank the edges of the robe of the goddess; we restore them as vegetation. When a cast was made about fifteen years ago, lichens were removed, so that the surface of the stone is clearly visible; many details, however, remain difficult to interpret in both the original and

the cast (in the museum at Kayseri). See André Parrot, "Cylindre hittite nouvellement acquis (AO 20138)," *Syria* 28 (1951): 180–90; my article "Stamp-Cylinders," pp. 156–57, pp. 153–61 for general discussion of the iconography of this frieze and pp. 168–70 for date. Another variant on the nude surrounded by vegetation appears on a Syro-Phoenician bronze ax in the Louvre, datable to the fourteenth–thirteenth centuries B.C.; Barrelet, "Deux déesses," pp. 27–44, pl. 1.



FIG. 6.—Šaušga figurine from Nuzi, Iraq Museum.
Photo courtesy of M. Mellink and Gebr.
Mann Verlag.

come two figurines, a lapis lazuli pendant found in the Hurrian center Alalakh in northern Syria and a small bone or ivory statuette excavated in the Hurrian (Mitanni) city Nuzi in northern Mesopotamia (fig. 6). In both, the upper torso remains clothed while the dress has been pulled up to reveal the rounded belly and legs and thus the female nature of the figure. The Nuzi figurine has, in addition, elements of both masculine and feminine clothing, a battle ax in one hand, and over the other a triangle, the Hittite hieroglyph for “health” or greeting. Thus, a complex tradition, including some degree of nudity, sexual ambivalence, a military weapon, and other attributes, emerges from several centuries of representation in various media.¹²

¹² Mellink, in “Hittite Figurine,” pp. 155–64, discusses both of these figurines. I would like to thank her for providing the photograph of the Nuzi figurine and to Gebr. Mann Verlag, publisher of *Vorderasiatische Archäologie*, for permission to use it here. Woolley (*Alalakh*, pl. 49:l) illustrates the pendant. I am much obliged to Jeanny Vorys Canby for supplying me with excellent photos of this latter piece. Alp (*Karahöyük*, p. 119, fig. 8, and pl. 35)

excavated a Colony age seal impression showing the garment raised in front of the body, thus establishing the existence of this conception long before the two figurines were made. By the middle of the second millennium, both forms were well known (cf. Porada, *Corpus*, nos. 937–44). Use of elements of male costume and emphasis on the military aspect of Ishtar also was ancient; see the eighteenth-century seal from Mari in Porada, “Professional

Two Hittite temple images of Šaušga, perhaps of the fourteenth century B.C., are known from inventory texts made after the middle of the thirteenth century. One showed the goddess seated, the other standing; both figures were winged and accompanied by the triangle sign, and one carried an ax. One was so masculinized that the scribe described it as the figure of a man. Two Hurrian handmaidens, Ninatta and Kulitta, accompanied both figures, and one group had a winged lion supporting the goddess, the other the beast called the *awiti*. In the Hittite Empire, therefore, the Hurrian sexual ambivalence and (perhaps Hurrian) weapon were combined with the frontal winged figure, nude or partly clothed, accompanied now by handmaidens and a symbolic animal in three-dimensional compositions. Whether in two or three dimensions, this frontal image was well established in the Hittite Empire, and it did not require all the attributes for proper identification.¹³

In a new image created in the mid-thirteenth century, a large number of these elements and qualities are retained. On the walls of the imperial sanctuary at Yazılıkaya Šaušga, as figure 38, appears near the head of the procession of male deities (fig. 7). Winged, she wears a male tiara, but a female robe that is pulled up to display the lower torso and one leg, and she has been converted into a processional figure. The artist who designed this figure had limited guidance from craft traditions in composing these representations of many different deities in profile. For Šaušga he probably worked from small sculptures familiar to him, such a one as the Nuzi figurine or those described in the inventories. He retained the full frontal torso, and to show the garment raised above her belly, then falling over the hip and back leg, he adapted the folds of the dress worn by the goddesses on the opposite wall of the sanctuary. The folds have been converted into a decorative, archaic, curvilinear pattern, and thus suggest the sculptor's difficulties in transforming the three-dimensional statue into the relief image. To make the figure conform with the others in the procession, he turned her head and legs and feet in profile and adjusted the arms to the forward movement. Another adaptation of the model appears in the unusual treatment of the pubic triangle; its asymmetry results from the sculptor's concern with showing the lower contour of the torso, the back of the leading leg, and the drapery that covers the trailing leg and disappears behind the front one. Inasmuch as damage to the belly of the figure follows the curving line of the innermost fold of the dress, perhaps it is natural flaking of the stone.¹⁴

This winged Šaušga has neither weapon nor animal attribute, but Ninatta and Kulitta (figures 37–36) accompany her. The accident of the shape and size of the rock face places her in a group with three deities of approximately equal rank, the Water-god (39) who precedes her, and the Moon- and Sun-gods (35–34) who follow. This prominent place among the gods is credited to the special interest of the Great King Hattušili III (1275–1250 B.C.), under whom the sanctuary reliefs were undertaken, who revered Šaušga for her aid at critical junctures in his life and who raised a sanctuary for her in another city.

Seal Cutters," pp. 10–11, and idem, "Syrian Seals from the Late Fourth Millennium to the Late Second Millennium," in H. Weiss, ed., *Ebla to Damascus: Art and Archaeology of Ancient Syria* (Washington, 1985), p. 96.

¹³ See Rost, "Zu den hethitischen Bildbeschreibungen," pp. 174–76; Güterbock, "Hethitischer Götterbilder," pp. 204–5.

¹⁴ Bittel, *Yazılıkaya*, pp. 141–42, pls. 23–24.



FIG. 7.—Šaušga, figure 38 at Yazılıkaya

At Yazılıkaya, Šaušga appeared among the goddesses, too, a figure (figure 55b) now lost but probably in the standard female processional image. Certainly this second figure signified fertility, but figure 38, with the dual sexual nature, presents Šaušga as goddess of war as well.¹⁵

¹⁵ For Šaušga among the goddesses, see *ibid.*, pp. 144–45, pl. 36. For Laroche the Hurrian nature of the deities represented as figures 40–34 at Yazılıkaya was a strong point in his argument that

tablets from Kizzuwatna (brought presumably by Puduhepa) were important sources in the organization of this pantheon; see Laroche, “Les Dieux de Yazılıkaya,” *RHA* 8 (1969): 70–75.



FIG. 8.—Šaušga relief from ʿAin Dara, National Museum, Aleppo

Many details of the new type of winged Šaušga appear in a Neo-Hittite relief (broken at the top) from the North Syrian site of ʿAin Dara (fig. 8). Her forms, especially the face, are well modeled, and she wears elaborately worked garments, the careful texturing of which highlights the fine quality of the piece. Different from figure 38 at Yazılıkaya, however, she bears arms, one shouldered and one (spear?) in her outstretched hand. In addition, the pubic triangle is emphasized by its large size. Evidently the patron sought absolute certainty in this presentation of the goddess's dual symbolism. Despite these variations, the ʿAin Dara relief remains close to figure 38 and testifies to the essential characteristics of the second type of Šaušga image, striding pose,

frontality of the partly nude torso, profile view of head and limbs, wings, and disposition of the garment over and under legs.¹⁶

The considerable impact of the imperial sanctuary during the half century remaining to the Empire can be recognized in the six known replicas of the striking new image of Šaušga. Tiny figurines of lapis lazuli and gold, once forming an elaborate inlay, were found at Carchemish in a Neo-Hittite stratum. After many years of question concerning the date, these have now been firmly attributed to the late thirteenth century as a reduced version of the pantheon at Yazılıkaya. Along with Šaušga, one female has been recognized as perhaps the surviving figure of the pair of handmaidens.¹⁷

The upper frieze of the Louvre stamp-cylinder seal shows the goddess a second time, in the new image and in company with the gods of water, moon, and sun—thus the group is adapted from the section at Yazılıkaya comprising figures 34–39. In addition, the stamp-cylinder employs the idea of two balanced processions with the Storm-god and a goddess meeting in the center, again a device known from the imperial sanctuary. Here she holds a cup and thus shares with the central Šaušga the symbolism of water and fertility. Despite the Mitannian style and technique which place the manufacture of this seal in northern Syria, some Hittite artistic elements and content are derived from Yazılıkaya, so that it follows the sanctuary and its date is late thirteenth century B.C.¹⁸

Four more seal designs, in unquestionable Hittite style, make use of the new Šaušga image, in each case confronting a male figure, a common pattern of the late Empire. Impressions excavated at Ugarit record a ring-type seal on which Šaušga faces a figure with a bow. Hieroglyphs fill the spaces and name the owner, Prince Taki-Šarruma. On an uninscribed cylinder seal in Geneva, Šaušga faces a figure with a spear. On the Konya gold signet ring of a prince, Šaušga is mounted on a wingless two-headed lion (compared earlier with the one on the Megiddo ivory), and hieroglyphs, including a lion,

¹⁶ Ali Abu Assaf, "Ein Relief der kriegerischen Göttin Ishtar," *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 1 (1983): 7–8, pl. 1; idem, "‘Ain Dara—Eine neu entdeckte Residenzstadt," in *Land des Baal: Syrien—Forum der Völker und Kulturen* (Mainz am Rhein, 1982), p. 351, fig. 66. Excavated in 1980, this relief is now in the National Museum, Aleppo. The reliefs of this site offer another example close to the sculpture of Yazılıkaya, the "bull mastered by a giant"; Faisal Seirafi and Agob Kirichian with the assistance of Maurice Dunand, "Recherches archéologiques à Ayin-Dara," *Annales Archéologiques de Syrie* 15 (1965): 10, pl. 8 c; Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur spätethitischen Kunst*, 'Ain Dara Cb/1. This depiction recalls figure 42 at Yazılıkaya, Tešub and the calf symbolizing Šarruma. Representation of figures overlapping in space was extremely rare; figure 42 was invented for use in the imperial sanctuary, and it almost certainly was the source for the 'Ain Dara relief. Thus, the links between Yazılıkaya 38 and the Šaušga of 'Ain Dara are strengthened. One other detail has imperial tradition behind it. The toes of Šaušga's shoes turn completely back to the tops of the feet, so that they resemble those on the two Šaušgas of the Louvre stamp-cylinder AO 20138,

the queens and seated goddess of Alaca Hüyük (Helmut Th. Bossert, *Anatolien* [Berlin, 1942], figs. 505, 507, 516), and several figures of the Schimmel rhyton (Oscar W. Muscarella, *Ancient Art: The Norbert Schimmel Collection* [New York, 1974], no. 123). This detail appears earlier, however, in the Nuzi figurine (fig. 5).

¹⁷ Ursula Seidl, "Lapisreliefs und ihre Goldfassungen aus Karkamiš," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 22 (1972): 15–43.

¹⁸ Concerning the place of manufacture of Louvre AO 20138, see my "Stamp-Cylinders," pp. 163–64. Šaušga in a procession and holding a cup(?) appears on another Hittite cylinder seal of the thirteenth century; see Porada, "Cylinder Seals Found at Thebes," pp. 40–43, no. 25. She accompanies three gods, one of them the Sun-god, the others uncertain. Her form and elaborate garment hark back to the Syrian type of the early second millennium (cf. Porada, "Syrian Seals," fig. 19, and Porada, "Cylinder Seals Found at Thebes," no. 23), and in combination with the diverse forms, garments, and sizes of the gods indicate that the designer of this seal used a variety of sources for the imagery.

appear on either side. In all three representations, the triangle hieroglyph is over the hand. In the Geneva and Ugarit examples, the edge of her garment falls below the outstretched arm as it does at Yazılıkaya, and on the Konya ring she holds her animal mount by a leash, another motif known also at Yazılıkaya. The find-spot of the Ugaritic impressions offers a late imperial date, while the Geneva and Konya seals lack dating evidence beyond the presence of the new image. Several thirteenth-century impressions of still another seal, excavated at Meskéné, a North Syrian city dependent on Carchemish, show Šaušga with a tall object in her outstretched hand and her mantle falling below the elbow; the image is altered, however, as the dress covers the figure from waist to ankles. Thus, archaeological and artistic evidence supports the conclusion that these six works date from the late thirteenth century B.C. and that they derive from the processional reliefs of Yazılıkaya. Furthermore, they exemplify the operation of an art historical principle, that a new exemplar sets an artistic evolution on a new path and leads to a congeries of variations and adaptations.¹⁹

One development related to the imagery of Šaušga has already been mentioned. This is the motif of the lion bearing a second head rising from the top of its neck, and it links the old and new images of Šaušga. She mounts this animal on the Konya ring, restraining it with a leash; on the Megiddo plaque this animal appears twice, closing the row of figures surrounding Šaušga. Whether an older motif or a thirteenth-century addition to the artist's repertoire, the two-headed lion was used with both old and new types of the goddess. Its striking form distinguished it from lions supporting and symbolic of other deities, such as the lion of Šarruma, and helped it survive for use in Neo-Hittite sculpture.²⁰

In several works, for example, the Konya ring, little reference is made to Šaušga as goddess of fertility, whereas at Yazılıkaya her position next to the Water-god, figure 39, seems to relate fertility to the power of water, as is clearly the case in the Imamkulu relief and the Louvre stamp-cylinder. The latter two works, both using the older frontal image of the goddess, are even more closely linked by the larger compositional similarity and meaning. In both, Šaušga turns her head and feet toward the Storm-god who appears in a complex and new image as he steps onto a chariot drawn by his attributive animals, two bulls. No longer is she the diminutive accompanying figure seen in Anatolian seal designs of the Assyrian Colony period. In Syrian seals of the mid-millennium, her size and importance increase, and she gains a clear equality which she

¹⁹ Taki-Šarruma impression: Schaeffer, *Ugaritica III*, figs. 54–57. Geneva seal: Marie-Louise Vollenweider, *Catalogue raisonné des sceaux cylindres et intailles*, vol. 1 (Geneva, 1967), no. 135. Konya gold ring: see above, n. 5. For the Meskéné design, see Beyer, "Les Empreintes de sceaux," p. 67, figs. 3, 11. Half of the silhouette of a winged figure survives on fragments of a worked sheet of gold found with the lapis and gold figurines; Seidl, "Lapisreliefs," fig. 1, and Leonard Woolley, *Carchemish*, pt. 3 (London, 1952), pl. 64, a 1. This figure may be another adaptation of the new Šaušga image. It resembles the Meskéné figure in holding out a tall object grasped near the base. For a possible parallel, see an old drawing of a Neo-Hittite relief of Carchemish which shows a goddess (directly behind the Storm-god) holding out a tall object identified by Woolley as a

sistrum or stalks of grain; *ibid.*, p. 165, pl. B. 38, c.

²⁰ The surviving half of a small Hittite bone plaque from Alalakh shows two similar animals; see Woolley, *Alalakh*, p. 291, pl. 77. In the quadrant at the top a lion is dominated by a winged, long-necked animal with a conical tiara, but the head seems more animal (lion?) than human, and there is no leonine head at the breast. The left quadrant contains a caprid attacked by a winged beast with two heads (one at the breast), but they both have the form of a falcon or eagle head, and neither has a tiara. They share with the two-headed lion of the Megiddo plaque a distinction in textures between the small tufted forms of the breast and front of the neck and the striations on the mane and back; the wings are remarkably similar on both pieces.

maintains in these two works. On the seal she heads a procession as does the Storm-god, and in the relief her support is as extraordinary as that of the Storm-god, an unusual tree or perhaps a bird with four pairs of wings, while the god and his chariot and bulls rest on three Mountain-gods who, in turn, are supported by three animal-headed beings with raised arms. The goddess seems now to be his partner in a sacred marriage, certainly in an aura of procreative abundance dependent on water. The geographical circumstances indicate that Šaušga's new prominence in Hittite art develops from Hurrian practices, for both of these works may be linked with southeastern regions of the Hittite world; the relief at Imamkulu marked the border of the province of Kizzuwatna on an important route to the Hittite capital, Hattuša, and the stamp-cylinder, on the basis of its Mitannian style and technique, probably originated in northern Syria. These two works, furthermore, become evidence of the importance of the Hurrians in stimulating the artistic efflorescence of the last century of the Hittite Empire. Yet, paradoxically, the pairing of Šaušga and the Storm-god did not become established in Anatolia.²¹

Despite the dependence of the seal frieze on Yazılıkaya, its import contradicts a significant aspect of the sanctuary reliefs where it is Hepat/Sun-goddess of Arinna (figure 43) who heads the procession of goddesses and meets the Storm-god. This dominant rank was owed to Great Queen Puduhepa, priestess of Hepat in the southeastern province of Kizzuwatna and reorganizer of the pantheon at the Hittite capital. In fusing the Hurrian Hepat with the ancient Anatolian Sun-goddess of Arinna, Puduhepa hittitized her own goddess for use at the center of the Empire and preempted for her the place of Šaušga opposite the Storm-god. Such a drastic change in a widespread, centuries-old tradition testifies to the great power of the imperial patrons. The stamp-cylinder, on the other hand, testifies to its owner's preference for the traditional grouping.²²

That Šaušga appears twice at Yazılıkaya and on the stamp-cylinder is not only a measure of her importance, but a suggestion that the two types have variant meanings. The new type probably conveys the idea of fertility, but it appears also in places where the fertility symbolism seems to play little part, for example, the Konya ring, Geneva seal, and seal of Taki-Šarruma. As the central figure on the stamp-cylinder seal, the older type lacks military significance and symbolizes the relationship between fertility and water, as is the case at Imamkulu also, and perhaps this would be the import of the putative Yazılıkaya 55b. The appearance of both images in a single composition, then, is not simply duplication; rather, they supplement each other, perhaps when the patron demanded clear statements of the two sides of Šaušga's nature.²³

²¹ For Syrian cylinder seals of the mid-millennium in which the goddess has equal prominence with the Storm-god, see Porada, *Corpus*, nos. 967–68. Behind the compositions of Imamkulu and the stamp-cylinder lay the motif of the sixteenth-century impression from southeastern Anatolia (see above, n. 9). For the geographical relationships of the relief at Imamkulu, see the map in Wäfler, "Imamkulu," fig. 1.

²² In representing Hattušili III with the Storm-god and Puduhepa with Hepat, the Fraktin reliefs show this new preference slightly earlier than Yazılıkaya. For religious activities of Puduhepa, see

Laroche, "Le Panthéon de Yazılıkaya," *JCS* 6 (1952): 121–22.

²³ Two forms of Šaušga seem to appear on a cylinder seal now in the Oriental Institute (von der Osten, *Brett*, no. 89). They approach the Storm-god who holds both a mace and a spear with its point down and who stands on a bull with a similar conical tiara with one large horn at the brim. The farther figure is a frontal nude female with head and feet turned toward the Storm-god, and she stands on a long-horned caprid. The nearer one, stepping toward the Storm-god, wears a long garment that covers the trailing leg, while the torso and leading

Only the older type of Šaušga appears in the Megiddo plaque, where it probably refers to the agricultural value of water. This figure provides a key to interpretation of the overall program, for the rich atlantid composition recognizes the basic necessities of an agricultural economy. At the bottom, mounds of earth support four bulls, attributes of the Storm-god and thus symbols of water. The power of the earth is further personified by Mountain-gods, and of water by Šaušga and her symbolic animals, the divinized lions. Monkeys (behind the Sun-gods), a long recognized symbol, add strong reference to fertility, and plant elements specify an agricultural content. The Mountain-god and Šaušga in the central column refer to the qualities of earth and water, and the third figure, the bull-man who often guards the sun-disk, may be interpreted as evoking the power of the sun, a function echoed by the numerous rosettes and the uppermost figures. In the bottom row, the bull-demons and Mountain-gods refer again to the sun and the earth, and the female sphinxes may refer to water. With its repetition of symbols, this richly interwoven composition exemplifies the principle of redundancy, which is by no means unusual in religious expression.

Repeated for the sake of symmetry, the image of the Sun-god of Heaven is enhanced by its large size, winged sun-disk, and flanking Janus-headed lion-men. Middle Bronze Age speculation, at the beginning of the second millennium, recognized the necessary pairing of earth and water for agricultural success. Now, Late Bronze thinking enlarges the group by incorporating the sun. This new understanding of the sun is evident in imagery of the Syro-Hittite world, and it continues to be strong in Neo-Hittite art of the first millennium B.C. In Syrian cities of the Hittite Empire, seals and other works represent the Sun-god above or show him equal to the Storm-god, and this conception traveled back to the Anatolian Hittite world. Clearly, the Sun-god dominates in the ivory, and the Storm-god is present only in his attributive animals, while some of his watery symbolism is assumed by Šaušga. Water, like earth, is subordinated to the power of the sun.²⁴

leg are nude, a variant on another type of the unveiling goddess (cf. Porada, *Seal Impressions*, vol. 1, nos. 945-46, 968); she stands on a lion and wears a spiked helmet with a large horn at the brim and thus may represent the bellicose side of the goddess, and she holds a small animal. Both goddesses shoulder a weapon with a curved end, and all three supporting animals have unnaturally long necks, perhaps another means of divinizing animal attributes. Although the deities on animals, the opposing bull and lion separated by a plant, and the conical tiaras are all Hittite aspects, the Mitanni technique and the cylinder seal form suggest manufacture in northern Syria. If figure no. 19 of the lapis and gold figurines of Carchemish (see Seidl, "Lapisreliefs," p. 26, pl. 7) represents another Šaušga, then again the goddess appears twice in one composition.

²⁴ See Kantor, "A 'Syro-Hittite' Treasure," pp. 145-55, for discussion of the gold disk formerly in the Oriental Institute. Sun symbolism appears in the winged disk supported by a tree and bull-men in the largest zone of the disk as well as in the rosettes at the center and distributed lavishly in the circular

zones. Only in the bull with lowered head and Hittite body markings is there a possible reference to the Storm-god. Kantor gives other Hittite examples of the winged disk supported by bull-men and concludes that the disk was made in northern Syria. For discussions of the image of the Sun-god, see P. E. Pecorella, "Una stele neoetia da Malatya," *Athenaeum* n.s. 18 (1969): 226-35; Gary Beckman, "A Hittite Cylinder Seal in the Yale Babylonian Collection," *Anatolian Studies* 31 (1981): 129-35, with a list of imperial examples of the image; to which add Beyer, "Sceau-cylindre de Shahurunuwa," pp. 70-77, fig. 7; idem, "Quelques observations," pp. 29-44, fig. 1, e-h; and Thebes 25 (Porada, "Cylinder Seals Found at Thebes," no. 25). The representations probably date from the end of the fourteenth through the thirteenth centuries B.C. (with the exception of the Neo-Hittite stela), and most come from southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria. A very old form of the Sun-god appears once in the late Empire, in the group of four deities on Louvre AO 20138; Alexander, "Stamp-Cylinders," p. 157. The invention and rapid acceptance of the new image obviously responded to a newly felt need. As

Relationships between elements are expressed through the composition of the plaque and reveal that the atlantid formation itself conveys a religious understanding. At the top, heaven is identified by hieroglyphs and images of large size that state the dominant power of the Sun-god of Heaven, a parallel to the position of the great king in Hittite political affairs. Terrestrial manifestations of earth and water occur at the bottom. In between are the elevated mountain peaks, divinized essence of earthly fertility, and the upper atmosphere, where water originates in rainstorms. The composition thus reflects the experience of natural and supernatural worlds and parallels contemporary Babylonian imagery where, on the Kassite *kudurru*, sky-gods occur at the top, separated by intermediate earthly levels from underground deities at the bottom.

Within Hittite art, moreover, similar concerns with agricultural fertility are evident in other compositions. In the central panel at Yazılıkaya (figures 40–46), symbols of earth and water commingle with the produce of fertility in the Vegetation-god (40), and the offspring of the two main deities occupy places near the head of the processions, Šarruma and the daughter and granddaughter of the Storm-god (44–46), as well as the calves (42a–43a), symbols of Šarruma. The prominence in Anatolia of the Storm-god and consequent emphasis on water along with earth as responsible for creation and growth reappear in the upper frieze of Louvre AO 20138, with the Sun-god to one side as he is at Yazılıkaya. In the related lower frieze, animal life and success in the hunt also are attributed to the Storm-god.

Emphasis on the sun, on the other hand, occurs in some other works. The bronze plaque excavated at Alaca Hüyük shows a large winged disk, with a second disk superposed, supported by a tree and two bull-men; all rest on two affronted bulls standing on a series of conical mountain peaks. The whole seems to be a variation on the ivory plaque composition. One large winged disk and two smaller ones top the late imperial monument at Eflatun Pınar. Its relationships with the Megiddo ivory are many—atlantid composition, animal- and bird-headed figures, figural poses and costumes, and the frontality of the two large seated deities. Topped by strong references to the sun and rising from actual water and earth, it may well have had meanings similar to those of the ivory. Along with the lapis and gold figurines of Carchemish, which included a Sun-god, was found a second Sun-god larger than the other and cast in gold, a technique different from that of the other figurines.²⁵

In addition to the presence of Šaušga (figure 38) at Yazılıkaya, further evidence of the late imperial date for the newly developed imagery along with the religious speculation comes from the fact that several repetitions appeared in the Neo-Hittite and Aramaic kingdoms of the early Iron Age and not in other parts of the ancient Near East. From Malatya, for example, in eastern Anatolia and close to the eastern edge of Kizzuwatna,

the world position of the Hittite Empire developed, contacts with Egypt increased along with an awareness of how Egyptian art was used to magnify the pharaoh (Kurt Bittel, *Hattusha* [Oxford, 1970], pp. 113–31). An old relationship between the Sun-god and the king facilitated the development of an image that could represent the deity and at the same time enhance the stature of the ruler. This relationship was understood earlier in the rosette as a sun symbol used also for the king in Hittite seals of the

fifteenth and fourteenth centuries (Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy*, pt. 1. *AfO Beiheft* 5 [1940; repr. Osnabruck, 1967]: 45–46; see also Oliver R. Gurney, “Hittite Kingship,” in Sidney H. Hooke, ed., *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship* [Oxford, 1958], pp. 116–18).

²⁵ For the bronze plaque, see Bittel, *Les Hittites*, fig. 246. For Eflatun Pınar, *ibid.*, fig. 257. Both Sun-gods among the Carchemish figurines appear in *ibid.*, figs. 242–43.

come reliefs generally considered among the earliest after the empire. Šaušga occurs as a separate figure in the new image, receiving a libation while supported by two birds, and in another relief her striking form appears twice in figures, one winged, who carry arms and wear the garment with curvilinear folds pulled back from the front leg. The Moon- and Sun-gods, receiving libations, are closely related to their antecedents at Yazılıkaya as the Moon-god is winged and his tiara is crossed by a crescent, a form developed for figure 35 at the sanctuary. There are also a relief of the Sun-god in the imperial form and one of the local king greeting the Storm-god who mounts a chariot drawn by bulls, a motif seen earlier in the neighboring Kizzuwatna. Malatya thus makes use of several images created late in the Empire, but numerous variations already indicate some changes in meaning.²⁶

Three of the reliefs of Carchemish continue these imperial traditions. The Moon- and Sun-gods, standing on a lion, possess the same distinguishing features and stand in the same sequence as at Yazılıkaya and Malatya. Šaušga, on the other hand, resembles the frontal goddess on the Imankulu relief and the Louvre stamp-cylinder, as her garment hangs down both sides of her body; instead of a globular flask of water, she holds her breasts. In a relief of the two-headed winged lion, the contour of the neck indicates that the tiaraed head is added over the neck of the animal, a suggestion that the designer understood the divinizing head as functioning symbolically. Owing to the different materials (basalt and limestone) and variations in sizes of these reliefs, their original relationships are not clear.²⁷

At other sites, the importance of the sun was paramount, and the imperial art traditions consequently much altered. At Yesemek, groups of two and three frontal Mountain-gods are overarched by the rising sun, its passage overhead, and the setting of the sun, symbolized as a series of rosettes. Numerous reliefs from ʿAin Dara in northern Syria each show a Mountain-god flanked by bull-men and other beings, all with arms raised to support a now missing element, perhaps a winged sun-disk. Water symbolism plays a smaller part at these two places.²⁸

Tell Halaf, on the other hand, an Aramaic site in North Syria where a monumental sculptured portal and more than two hundred stone reliefs were found, produced an unusual glazed terracotta structure with the three elements in balance (fig. 9). Instead of representations, only symbols appear, as specially molded bricks create rows of rosettes, guilloche, and imbrications, signifying sun, water, and earth. Located in the plaza before the palace, the object was not a podium for sculpture or standards but was itself an ensign.²⁹

²⁶ Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur spätethitischen Kunst*, Malatya A/6, 7, 11, and 5a in which the two goddesses, one wearing the male tiara, may represent the two aspects of Šaušga, and D/1 as a representation of the Sun-god alone. For a question on the representation of two Šaušgas in the one relief, see Noëlle Willemaers, "Une Identification contestée d'Ištar-Šaušga," *Le Muséon* 56 (1973): 467-73. It is worth noting that, in the face of the long Bronze Age tradition of unabashed nudity, the Malatya sculptors covered the torso and upper leg of the female figure, a distinct change from the image at Yazılıkaya. A similar reserve appears in the full-length garment worn by Šaušga in the Meskené seal

design as well as both nos. 19 and 23 of the Carchemish lapis and gold figurines. An explanation for this change would go far beyond the limits of the present study.

²⁷ Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur spätethitischen Kunst*, Karkemish Bb/1, C/4, and E/8.

²⁸ Ibid., ʿAin Dara D/1, 5, and 6; Yesemek 102; see also Alkim, *Yesemek*, pls. 33-37. The profusion of rosettes at Yesemek parallels their generous distribution over the Megiddo plaque and the substitution of rosettes for proper disks in the winged sun-disks.

²⁹ Max Frhr. von Oppenheim et al., *Tell Halaf*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1943-62), vol. 2, pp. 71-78, pls. 13-14.

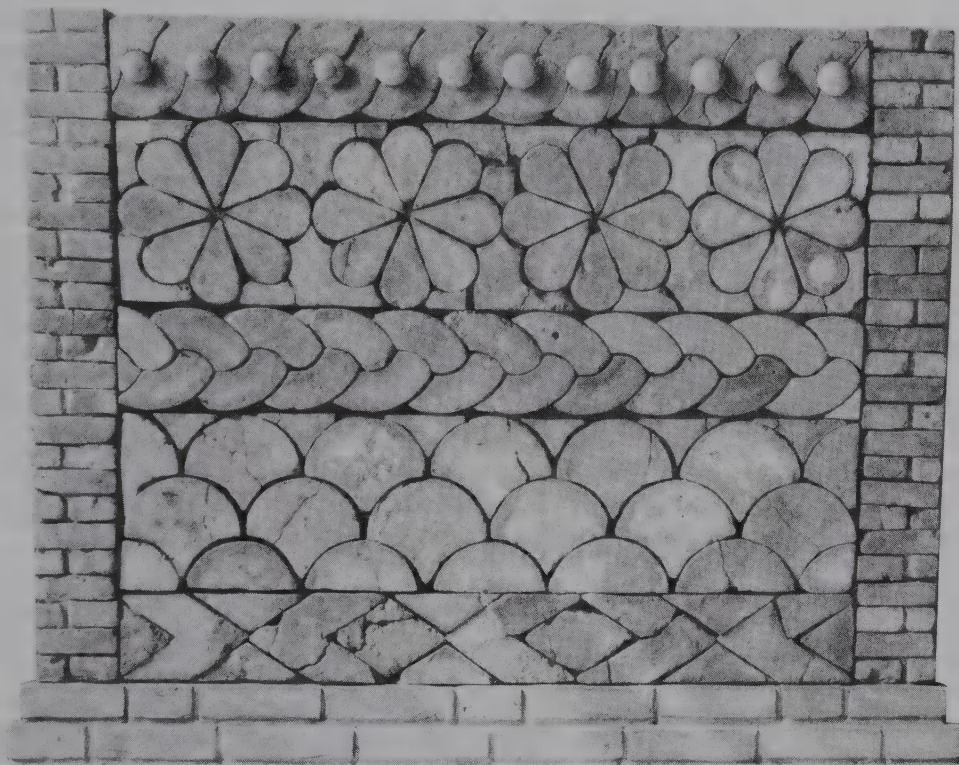


FIG. 9.—Terracotta standard from Tell Halaf, Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin

During the late Empire a spate of inventions in artistic imagery and compositional devices resulted in a virtual reform of Hittite art. Certainly one center of innovation was at the capital city, Hattuša, and the imperial religious sanctuary, and one or more additional centers were in southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria. Special circumstances brought into being a new image of Šaušga. The uses of the new image and the old one reflected the development of religious speculation and regional iconographic preferences. Differences appeared as the models were adapted for other uses, and with greater distance in space or time diversity increased. We may generalize that water symbolism remained strong in Anatolia while the sun assumed greater importance farther south; yet the diversity was so great that other factors must have played a large role in determining the compositional variety that resulted from demands by different patrons according to beliefs prevalent in different regions.

Several aspects of the composition of the Megiddo plaque referred less to Anatolia proper and more to Hittite northern Syria where the Sun-god dominated. Doubled, his image looms over the whole composition, and his presence is seen everywhere in the profligately distributed rosettes, like those on the reliefs of Yesemek. The bull-demon, too, appears in each of the rows of lesser figures, and his well-made horns provide support in a Syrian fashion. Prominent as supporter of the winged disk, the Janus-headed lion-man seems a purely Hurrian motif, probably reaching the Hittite world

through Syria. Arms with abbreviated hands raised in support, while occurring at Eflatun Pınar and Imankulu on the edges of the Hittite heartland, seem to be most common in Carchemish, a major Hittite court in North Syria. No doubt the ivory is Hittite in style, but its designer was steeped in the Hurro-Hittite traditions of south-eastern Anatolia and northern Syria.³⁰

The plaque may have reached Palestine as booty of war, an item of trade, or as a diplomatic gift. A luxury piece of ivory, its religious-economic message was up-to-date in conveying best wishes for well-being. It may have conveyed a political message; because the Sun-god image was a variant of the Hittite king's, having the winged disk superposed, the ivory plaque would be a constant reminder to local rulers in Syria and Palestine of the power of their neighbor to the north, the Hittite great king. Yet it may have reached its final destination in Megiddo after the fall of the Hittite Empire. It was but one, and the only Anatolian, piece in a hoard of some three hundred ivories, gold, and other valuables in the treasure room of a palace. Despite previous wear from handling, it was no longer an object of daily use, and perhaps it was separated from its mounting with some care rather than by destructive force. Its value no longer lay in its religious, economic, and political messages, but in its material—ivory.³¹

³⁰ For supporters with raised arms, see the cylinder seal designs of Ini-Tešub (Schaeffer, *Ugaritica III*, figs. 32, 34), Amanmashu (ibid., fig. 68), and Hišmi-Tešub and Shahurunuwa (Beyer, "Sceau-cylindre de Shahurunuwa," figs. 7, 10). These examples, all originating in Carchemish, present a chronological range from the end of the fourteenth to the late thirteenth centuries B.C. See also my article "A

Hittite Cylinder Seal in the Fitzwilliam Museum," *Anatolian Studies* 25 (1975): fig. 4.

³¹ Barnett has suggested that during the uncertain times at the end of the Bronze Age, a ruler at Megiddo acquired and hoarded pieces of ivory as a form of wealth, without regard for the representations and explicit or implied messages; see Barnett, *Ancient Ivories*, p. 25.

THE END OF SEANKHENPTAH'S HOUSEHOLD
(LETTER TO THE DEAD CAIRO JDE 25975)*

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OVER a century ago, Maspero's investigations at Saqqara South resulted in, among other things, the discovery of a mastaba belonging to a certain Seankhenptah, which probably dates to the Sixth Dynasty. Like so many of the French scholar's finds, this tomb was published only in summary form.¹ As a result, our knowledge of Seankhenptah's life is rather limited. In fact, we hardly know more about him than that he was a "controller of the Night Bark and controller of the Day Bark," enviable positions, no doubt, for when he died, he was well prepared to occupy a post among the crew of the barks of the solar god.

There are indications that the fate of his survivors was less fortunate. We are informed about this by a letter to the dead known as the "Cairo text on linen."² It was deposited in the tomb by Seankhenptah's wife Irti and his son Iii,³ who complain that their household is being torn apart by a woman named Wabet and a man called Isesi. Some of the servants, as well as some pieces of furniture, had already been removed to Wabet's and Isesi's house. The complete disintegration of Seankhenptah's household was apparently only a matter of time.

A dubious role is attributed to two further men, Behezti and 'An'ankhi. It seems clear that Irti and Iii were forced against their will to move to Wabet's household. In a last attempt to forestall imminent disaster, they decide to call in the help of the deceased. In a strongly emotional tone, Seankhenptah is urged to gather together his dead forefathers, brothers, and friends to take action against Behezti and 'An'ankhi.

In order to stress Seankhenptah's responsibility in this connection, the first lines of the letter recall certain statements made by the deceased before his death. In this passage, Irti relates how she was sitting at the head of her husband's bed—his death-bed, perhaps⁴—when the family was visited by Behezti's messenger. Unfortunately, the published renderings of this intriguing passage strike one as rather obscure.

According to Gardiner and Sethe, it might be translated as follows:

This is an oral reminder (?) of the fact that the messenger of Behezti came to the couch when I was sitting at thy head, when they caused Irti's son Iii to be summoned, in order to be accredited

* I would like to thank my colleague Andrea McDowell for help in correcting my English.

¹ G. Maspero, *Trois années de fouilles* (Cairo, 1885), p. 205; *PM III*², p. 627.

² Cairo JdE 25975; see A. H. Gardiner and K. Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead* (London, 1928), pp. 1-3; 13-16; pl. 1.

³ Here I follow the general view, although this interpretation of the relationships is nowhere expressly stated (cf. Gardiner and Sethe, *Letters to the Dead*, pp. 2-4; B. Gunn, "Egyptian Letters to the Dead," *JEA* 16 [1930]: 147-50; A. Théodoridès, "Le Droit matrimonial dans l'Égypte pharaonique," *RIDA* 23 [1976]: 35-44, where further literature is cited; D. Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen aus dem Mittleren Reich* [Hamburg, 1983], pp. 168, 310).

⁴ It has always been regarded as such. According to Gunn ("Egyptian Letters to the Dead," p. 150), most letters to the dead begin with recollections of

with the messenger of Beheztī, and when thou didst say “Protect him for fear of Iy the Elder! The wood of this my bed would rot (?) if it should carry one who keeps away a man’s son from his bedstead (?)”⁵

As the many question marks indicate, the editors of the *editio princeps* were not at all convinced of the accuracy of their translation. In his review of their work, B. Gunn was indeed able to point out a number of errors. For instance, he remarked that there is no support for Gardiner’s and Sethe’s proposal to read *msk*³ as “couch”; the accepted sense of this word is “leather,” a reading which completely alters the interpretation of the passage:


It is a reminder of (the time when) a messenger of Behesti came for some leather when I was sitting by your head, and when I caused Irti’s son Iy to be called in to avoid Behesti’s messenger, and when you said: “Hide him, for fear of Iy the elder! May the wood of this my bed which bears me . . . one who keeps a man’s son away from his household property!”⁶

Despite the apparent improvements, several objections can be raised here as well. Gunn’s reading of *sb*³*kk* is no more than a guess. Also, it is unclear why Iii should be hidden if a messenger comes to fetch some leather. Finally, the last sentence remains as obscure as it was. These objections apply to all studies that have appeared since, for all rely heavily on the two publications just cited.⁷ When I recently reread the text, it occurred to me that some possibilities have been overlooked and that the letter is, for the most part, perfectly clear. My translation of the complete document runs as follows.

- (1) A sister who speaks to her brother. A son who speaks to his father.^a Your condition is like living a million times!^b May Ḥa, the Lord of the West, help you, may Anubis, the Lord of Burial, help you, according as he and she wish!^c
- (2) This is an explanation of^d how the deputy^e of Beheztī came for the leather^f when I was sitting^g at your head, while causing^g Irti’s son Iii to be called
- (3) to declare (himself?, his father?) unliable^h to the deputy of Beheztī, and when you said^h: “Keep it hidden!,”ⁱ for fear of Iii the elder.^j “The (leather) cover (?)^k of^l the wood
- (4) belongs to this bed which bears me! Shall a man of standing be held back from his furniture?”^m But see, Wabetⁿ has come
- (5) together with Isesi. They have devastated^o your house and she has taken everything that was in it in order to enrich Isesi!

events that took place shortly before the addressee’s death.

⁵ *Letters to the Dead*, p. 1.

⁶ Gunn, “Egyptian Letters to the Dead,” pp. 148–50. In his criticism of Gardiner’s and Sethe’s reading, he, among other comments, states (1) that *tn.w-r* does not refer to an oral reminder; (2) that *msk*³ means “leather,” not “bed”; (3) that *sdh* means “to conceal,” not “to protect”; (4) that *rp* does not mean “to rot” here; (5) that  should be read *m rdl.t=i nls.tw*. As opposed to Gunn, however, I believe, that it is not necessary to interpret *m rdl.t=i* as a *m sdm.t=f*-form—a very exceptional form, if it exists at all (see E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* [Rome, 1955–1964], §735 [cc] [hereafter

cited as *AäG*]; *rdl.t* is rather the infinitive.

⁷ Anonymous, “Missives aux morts,” *CdE* 7 (1928): 117–19; J. Pirenne, *Histoire des institutions et du droit privé de l’ancienne Egypte*, vol. 3 (Brussels, 1935), pp. 366–69; A. de Buck, “La Composition des Enseignements d’Amenemhat,” *Le Muséon* 59 (1946): 188; H. Junker, *Pyramidenzeit* (Zurich and Cologne, 1949), pp. 140–41; H. Brunner, “Das rechtliche Fortleben des Toten bei den Ägyptern,” *Afo* 18 (1957–58): 53–54; G. Roeder, *Der Ausklang der ägyptischen Religion mit Reformation, Zauberei und Jenseitsglauben* (Zurich and Stuttgart, 1961), pp. 263–67; R. Grieshammer, *Das Jenseitsgericht in den Sargtexten* (Wiesbaden, 1970), pp. 16–18; Théodoridès, “Le Droit matrimonial,” pp. 35–44.

- (6) She wishes to herself^p that your son should suffer poverty by enriching Isesi's son! She has taken away Iaset, Iti, and ^cAn^cankhi
- (7) from you! She is (now) taking all your Honor's servants after taking everything that was in your house.
- (8) About this your heart can remain cool? I (rather) wish that you would take the one who is here before you (= Iii) than to see your son (= Iii) near the son of
- (9) Isesi. Arouse your father Iii against Behezti. Raise yourself! Hasten against him!
- (10) You know that I come hither to you for litigation with Behezti and Aai's son ^cAn^cankhi! Raise yourself against them
- (11) together with your fathers, your brothers, and your friends that you may overthrow Behezti and Aai's son ^cAn^cankhi.
- (12) Remember these things you said to Irti's son Iii: "The houses of the fathers are supported in—you said (so)!—the house of the son!!"^a May your son maintain your house just as you maintained your father's house!
- (13) Oh Seankhenptah, my father! Be pleased to have Iini called unto you in order to take the house of ^cAn^cankhi whom Wabet (?) conceived.^r

Notes to the Translation

^a For this formula in letters, see T. G. H. James, *The Hekanakhte Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents* (New York, 1962), pp. 119–20. For the grammatical structure, see A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3d ed. (Oxford, 1957), §450,1; E. Edel, *AäG*, vol. 2, §§943 and 950; W. Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien* (Bonn, 1962), p. 77; G. Fecht, "Der Totenbrief von Nag^c ed-Deir," *MDAIK* 24 (1969): 107–8.

^b For this formula, see James, *Hekanakhte Papers*, pp. 120–22.

^c For this formula, see *ibid.*, p. 122. In accordance with Gunn, "Egyptian Letters to the Dead," pp. 148 and 150, the end of the column has been read *mī mrr=fī/=s*, the oblique stroke under =f being read as =s (an identical form occurs in col. 2). As the parallels prove, the subject of *mī mrr* is the writer of the letter (here a man and a woman). Note, however, that in the rest of the letter (except line 13), the mother alone speaks.

^d For the meaning of *tn.w-r*, see Gardiner and Sethe, *Letters to the Dead*, p. 14; Gunn, "Egyptian Letters to the Dead," p. 148; James, *Hekanakhte Papers*, p. 114. For the grammatical structure (*tn.w-r pw* as a deictic nominal clause followed by the indirect genitive *n.w*), see Gardiner and Sethe, *Letters to the Dead*, p. 14.

^e *Wpw.ty* denotes more than a simple letter-carrier; it is a person to whom some of the authority of his patron has been delegated. See M. Valloggia, *Recherche sur les "messagers" (wpwtyw) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes* (Geneva and Paris, 1976), p. 212.

^f Not "couch," as proposed by Gardiner and Sethe (see notes 5 and 6 above). Gardiner's and Sethe's reading has been followed by many other authors (Junker, *Pyramidenzeit*, p. 140; Roeder, *Ausklang*, p. 265; Pirenne, *Histoire des institutions*, p. 367; anonymous, "Missives aux morts," p. 117–19).

^g As Gunn remarks ("Egyptian Letters to the Dead," p. 148), the clause "*tn.w-r pw nw* and variants must (. . .) serve to recall not a single fact or event but a larger time-field comprising the successive events narrated in lines 2, 3." He refers to other letters to the

dead where the same applies (*Letters to the Dead*, pls. 2,2; 3,2). It is worth noting that in all these cases the *tn.w-r pw* clause is attached to what follows by the genitive *n.w* and that this genitive introduces one long sentence consisting of (a) an initial main clause (*sdm.n=f*) and (b) circumstantial clauses which are made subordinate by the preposition *m*. Apparently, this formulation formed part of the standard phraseology used in letters. This is important, for it may explain why “when I was sitting (. . .)” was not simply written (*iw=i*) *hmzi. kwi* but *m wn=i hmzi. kwi*.

^b The term *sb3kk* is obviously related to the root *b3k*, which means “to be clear” (*Wb.* I, 424,13–425,17) and its causative *sb3k*, “to make clear” (*Wb.* IV, 86,16–87,5). The passages cited by Gardiner and Sethe (*Letters to the Dead*, p. 15) and P. Smither (“An Old Kingdom Letter Concerning the Crimes of Count Sabni,” *JEA* 28 [1942]: 19) demonstrate that the root was regularly used to indicate that a person was “clear” in a legal sense, i.e., not guilty of crime or responsible for some negative act. The only known parallel for the word *sb3kk* has just this meaning. It occurs in P. Berlin 8869, an Old Kingdom letter about criminal matters in which the recipient is said to have *sb3kk*-ed the writer in court (see Smither, “Old Kingdom Letter,” pp. 16–19). In Smither’s words, the writer is “given a clear character,” i.e., he is declared not responsible for the crimes committed. I believe that this sense is also intended in our text. The deputy comes to fetch the leather, but Iii is called by his mother to explain that he or his father cannot be held liable for its delivery.


All earlier publications on our letter have had to conclude that *sb3kk* here has a highly original extended meaning. Gardiner and Sethe (*Letters to the Dead*, p. 15) and most others assume that, through its root meaning, *sb3kk* came to mean something like “to accredit oneself with,” “to obtain recognition from,” “to be commended (to)” (anonymous, “Missives aux morts,” p. 118; Pirenne, *Histoire des institutions*, p. 367; Junker, *Pyramidenzeit*, p. 140; Smither, “Old Kingdom Letter,” p. 19; Théodoridès, “Le Droit matrimonial,” p. 39, n. 87), the child being named heir in the presence of the deputy or being entrusted to his care. Gunn, a friend of Agatha Christie, believed that the deputy, seeing that Seankhenptah was ill, might for some unknown reason want to kidnap Iii. For *sb3kk*, he ventured the translation “to avoid.” The child is called by its mother in order to avoid the kidnapper (“Egyptian Letters to the Dead,” p. 148; see also Valloggia, *Les “Messagers,”* p. 85). This charming story unfortunately leaves one wondering why a man on an errand to get some leather suddenly decides to kidnap a child.

ⁱ The interpretation of *sb3kk* discussed in the preceding note has been strongly influenced by the various renderings of the present sentence. All earlier authors believed that the pronoun *sw* refers to Iii. The implication that the parents want to hide the child from the deputy must have made scholars believe that the visitor had some authority over the child or that he was even expected to take it with him.




Since the deputy’s visit is expressly stated to have been for the purpose of collecting leather, I find it more convincing to assume that *sw* refers to this material (*msk3*).


^j I am unable to explain this phrase. Is it a part of Seankhenptah’s speech or an aside by the writers, meant to indicate Seankhenptah’s motivation for wishing to keep the leather hidden? See further pp. 190–91 below.

^k Gardiner thought that *rp* means “to rot” (*Letters to the Dead*, p. 15; followed by anonymous, “Missives aux morts,” p. 118; Pirenne, *Histoire des institutions*, p. 367; Junker, *Pyramidenzeit*, p. 140; Roeder, *Ausklang*, p. 265), which leads to the adven-

turous translation cited on p. 184 above. Gunn ("Egyptian Letters to the Dead," pp. 149–50) rightly questioned this interpretation on the grounds that the determinative for leather is hardly to be expected for a word with this meaning. He also referred to a word  in Papyrus Koller, 1,2. According to him, this has to be a verb denoting the brushing or trimming of horses. Unfortunately, he was unable to offer a suggestion for the word *rp* in our text. Finally, we may refer to Théodoridès ("Le Droit matrimonial," p. 39, n. 87), who suggests that *rp* means "reach" ("atteindre"). His translation does not make much sense, however, and he is unable to give arguments for his reading.


Gunn's reference to the passage in Papyrus Koller is most instructive, however. It deals with horses of the cavalry in Syria and reads as follows: *iw n3y=sn šn.w rp mh(.w) m wnm.t . . .* According to Caminos (*Late Egyptian Miscellanies* [Oxford, 1954], pp. 432–33), *šn.w rp* is a *badal*-apposition in which *šn.w* denotes the material and *rp* a sack made out of it. He suggests that the material was "some hirsute-looking, rough-haired material, like a coarse sackcloth or perhaps even a shaggy hide." The passage can be translated as follows: "Their leather sacks are filled with fodder."

There is a third word based on the root *rp* which may, or may not, be related to the terms discussed above: the word *rpw.t/rpy.t*. The original meaning of this word, which is already attested in sources of the Archaic Period, is still a matter of debate (see W. Kaiser, "Zu den  der älteren Bilddarstellungen und der Bedeutung von *rpw.t*," *MDAIK* 39 [1983]: 274–96 and B. J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* [London and New York, 1989], p. 94). In later periods, however, it commonly designated a goddess (or a priestess playing her role). The term occurs for the first time on a statuette showing a woman sitting in a portable shrine (). It is a depiction of just such a shrine (either with or without a woman inside) that serves as a determinative, or even as an ideogram, for the name of the goddess Reput (see Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 93 and Kaiser, "Bilddarstellungen," p. 277). In view of the apparently close links between the divinity and the shrine, Kaiser states that "dieser reale Tragschrein mit Figur darin bis ins späte AR nicht nur eine, sondern die Erscheinungsform der Göttin, göttliche Macht o. ä. Reput gewesen ist" (ibid., p. 276). Arguably, the name of the goddess might thus mean something like "shrine," "shelter." It is true that this interpretation is conjectural but not less so than those advanced by others (see Kaiser, "Zu den  der älteren Bilddarstellungen," p. 274 and n. 55, p. 296; and D. Franke, "Anchu, der Gefolgsmann des Prinzen," in H. Altenmüller and R. Germer, eds., *Miscellanea Aegyptologica* [Hamburg, 1989], pp. 82–84). Note that the term *rpy.t* once refers to a sacred shrine, although the reference is of very late date (E. Graefe, "Eine fromme Stiftung für den Gott Osiris-der-seinen-Anhänger-in-der-Unterwelt-rettet aus dem Jahre 21 des Taharqa (670 v. Chr.)," *MDAIK* 35 [1979]: 109). Graefe, moreover, interprets it as a late spelling not of *rpy.t* but of *r-pr*.

If all this is correct, the basic meaning of *rp* might be "to cover." The literal meaning of the *rpw.t*-shrine would then be something like "covering." The word *rp* could further denote "containers" in the widest sense of the word, for example, for storing fodder or for enveloping bodies of animals, i.e., their hides. It is even possible that the *rp*-containers mentioned in Papyrus Koller are actual hides—often used throughout the Near East as containers. In view of the context, two readings can be proposed for  in our letter: "hide" or "(leather) cover." My preference for the second option is explained in the next note.


¹ "The (leather) cover of the wood" may denote a kind of mattress. An alternative reading is: "the hide and the wood." I prefer the first reading, since the preceding sentences suggest that the deputy came only to fetch leather and not for wood.

^m For $z^3 n z$, "man of standing," literally "son of a man," see *Wb.* III, 409, 14. According to all earlier authors, "son of a man" here refers to Iii, but I believe that Seankhenptah himself is meant. For the rendering of *ndr.wt* as "furniture," see Gunn, "Egyptian Letters to the Dead," pp. 149–50.

ⁿ The transcription of the first sign of Wabet's name in the publication is inaccurate. A comparison with the hieratic of the Abusir papyri indicates that the first sign is clearly  (see P. Posener-Kriéger and J. L. de Cenival, *The Abu Sir Papyri* [London, 1968], Palaeography, pl. 1 [A6]; see also CT III, 294, n. 3; 305, n. 1; and 310, n. 5).

^o *Iw b3.n=y*; cf. E. Edel, "Die Herkunft des neuägyptisch-koptischen Personal-suffixes der 3. Person Plural -w," *ZÄS* 94 (1959): 17–38; idem, *AäG*, §992; Théodoridès, "Le Droit matrimonial," p. 39, n. 90.

^p This sentence has always been read $mri=sn sm3r z3=k$ (Gardiner and Sethe, *Letters to the Dead*, pp. 1 and 15; Gunn, "Egyptian Letters to the Dead," p. 150; anonymous, "Missives aux morts," p. 118; Pirenne, *Histoire des institutions*, p. 367; Junker, *Pyramidenzeit*, p. 140; Roeder, *Ausklang*, p. 266; Théodoridès, "Le Droit matrimonial," p. 40), although Gardiner and Sethe remark that "the plural suffix .sn comes in awkwardly between *il.n.s* in I 5 and the same word in I 6." This problem disappears if one reads $mri=s$ followed by a *dativus ethicus* $n=s$.

^q This difficult sentence has been translated as follows by Gardiner and Sethe (*Letters to the Dead*, pp. 1, 16): "Remember this that thou didst say to Irti's son Iy "the houses of the fathers are to be (?) sustained," when thou didst say "Son's house and then (?) son's house." For , they also propose the alternative "a son's house is a son's house." With minor variations, these renderings have been followed by Junker (*Pyramidenzeit*, p. 141), Roeder (*Ausklang*, p. 267), Théodoridès ("Le Droit matrimonial," p. 41), and Franke (*Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, pp. 268–69).⁸ The obvious point of the passage is that, after a man's death, his household *should* be administered by his own son, who can then take care of the houses of his predecessors. Although it has always been understood in this way, the passage seems to be formulated in a remarkably clumsy manner, if Gardiner's and Sethe's translation is correct. As a matter of fact, their rendering states only that the "houses of the fathers are to be sustained" in some way and, independently from this, that there is a house for the son. In addition to these semantic problems, the implied future time reference for the pseudoparticiple $tw3(.w)$ arouses suspicion (see Edel, *AäG*, §584). My own reading is an attempt to solve these problems, but it is no more than a suggestion. The combination $tw3 m$ does not appear to be attested elsewhere.

^r This sentence is Iii's address to his father.

The above letter allows us a glimpse into the everyday affairs of the household of a "man of standing." The introductory lines are most intriguing. They are probably not merely an anecdote. Nor do I believe that Gunn's assessment of their background is

⁸ Pirenne (*Histoire des institutions*, p. 367) ventured a different translation: "Les maisons des pères


se fondent en ce que je dis: maison du père, maison du fils" (italics mine).

correct. According to him, the recollection of memories in this and other letters to the dead serves to indicate that "the two persons concerned parted on excellent terms" when the addressee died.⁹ In our letter, the whole story leads up to Seankhenptah's indignant question "Shall a man of standing be held back from his furniture?" (line 4). Now, as the rest of the letter proves, this is exactly what is about to happen to Irti's son Iii. By alluding to sentiments expressed by the deceased himself, Irti hopes to stir him into action.

In the present case, the story about the leather may even be related to the contents of the rest of the letter. At any rate, the patron of the deputy who comes to collect this leather is identical with one of the men whom Seankhenptah is urged to defeat (lines 2 and 11).

This brings us to an analysis of the interrelationships of those mentioned in the letter. As we have seen, one party is formed by Seankhenptah, his wife Irti, and their son Iii. We also hear about Seankhenptah's father Iii (line 9), who may be identical with the Iii the elder mentioned in line 3 (see below).

The main figures of the opposing party are called Wabet and Isesi. Although their relationship with each other is nowhere specified, we do hear that Wabet wants to enrich Isesi's son (line 6). Her apparently close ties with Isesi and his son make it a not unreasonable guess that they formed a family and were wife, husband, and child. If the transcription is reliable, the last line of the text may indicate that the child's name was ^cAn^cankhi. Another ^cAn^cankhi, the son of Aai, is also one of the opponents. In view of the fact that he may already have been dead when the letter was written (see lines 10–11), he is probably an older member of the family, perhaps the father of Wabet or Isesi.

It is less easy to determine the position of the man called Behezti. He apparently belongs to the same league as Wabet's family (see lines 9 and 11). In view of the determinative  after his name in line 2, it has been argued that Behezti was dead when Irti and Iii wrote the letter.¹⁰ However, he cannot have been dead for very long, since in line 2 it is stated that he sent a deputy. He may have been the elder of Wabet's household compound at the time of the leather affair. Regarding his seniority, line 9 may be of importance. Throughout the letter, Seankhenptah himself is addressed; in line 9, however, he is advised to call in the help of his father Iii in order to cope with Behezti. Perhaps, it was expected that Iii and Behezti, as members of the same generation, could come to terms more easily.

Finally, there is the man Iini mentioned in line 13. Judging from the determinative, he also is probably dead. It is impossible, however, to ascertain his position in the conflict.

We may assume that Irti's household and Wabet's and Isesi's household were connected by bonds of kinship, although it is impossible to determine how. One thing to keep in mind, however, is that only blood relatives were entitled to a share in the inheritance.¹¹ This may help to explain Irti's lack of power to dispose of her husband's

⁹ Gunn, "Egyptian Letters to the Dead," p. 150.

¹⁰ Gardiner and Sethe, *Letters to the Dead*, p. 3; Gunn, "Egyptian Letters to the Dead," p. 150; Grieshammer, *Jenseitsgericht*, p. 18.

¹¹ See, for example, P. W. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt* (Lei-

den, 1961), pp. 117 ff.; and idem, in *Essays on Oriental Laws of Succession* (Leiden, 1969), pp. 59 ff., 68 ff. I have studied the applicability of this rule in the Old Kingdom in an article on the kin-group *3b.t*. Although the article was accepted in 1984 for publication in *RdE*, it has never appeared.

possessions. Her son may still have been too young to be charged with the responsibility for the whole estate. Wabet or Isesi, perhaps Seankhenptah's relatives, may have taken this responsibility on themselves. It is unclear whether they saw this as a way of acquiring the whole inheritance, although this is clearly Irti's fear.

Moreover, despite Irti's indignation, one has the impression that Wabet's claims on Seankhenptah's former household were not entirely unfounded.¹² During his lifetime, there was already a controversy over some leather which Seankhenptah was not prepared to give up. His suggestion that it is not right to take away furniture from a man of standing may reflect truly hurt feelings, but it hardly sounds like an argument with legal value.

After Seankhenptah's death, some time apparently went by before Irti wrote her letter. In the meantime, Behezti died. Only now did the affair reach a climax. Perhaps Behezti had steered a moderate course. With Wabet and Isesi, matters were apparently different. It is possible that they not only had a claim to the leather mentioned in the early part of the letter but to much of the rest of Seankhenptah's property as well.

Whatever the status of their claim, it is clear that Seankhenptah's whole household was being dismantled in order to be incorporated into the household of Wabet's son ^cAn^cankhi (lines 6, 8–9, 13). We lose track of the story in line 10, where Irti says that she has come to her husband's tomb "for litigation." She urges him to call his relatives and friends in the hereafter to take action against Behezti and Aai's son ^cAn^cankhi. She further advises him to awaken his father Iii so that he may deal with Behezti. Also, her son urges his father to cause a certain Iini to take back the house from Wabet's son ^cAn^cankhi.

The reference to Seankhenptah's father Iii raises one last problem, a problem, unfortunately, for which I am unable to find a satisfactory explanation. Earlier in the letter, a certain Iii the elder is mentioned in connection with the leather affair. When Behezti's deputy comes to fetch the leather, Seankhenptah says: "Keep it hidden!" This is followed by the words "for fear of Iii the elder." According to the earlier renderings, the latter phrase forms part of Seankhenptah's speech: "Keep it hidden for fear of Iii the elder!" To me this does not sound very natural; it implies that Seankhenptah indirectly asks his relatives to be afraid of someone. Hence my translation, according to which "for fear of Iii the elder" is an aside by the writer to indicate why Seankhenptah wished to keep the leather hidden.

Both options are possible, however, and both imply that Seankhenptah's household feared Iii the elder in connection with the delivery of the leather.

According to Gardiner and Sethe, Iii the elder was Seankhenptah's father mentioned as Iii in line 9. If this is correct, it would appear that the dead father had reason to wish that the leather would stay in his son's possession. Could it be that the leather had formed part of the "house of the father," i.e., the paternal inheritance bequeathed to Seankhenptah? Egyptian autobiographies often boast that the speaker had been able to enrich the household inherited from the father.¹³ This was obviously an ideal to be strived after. Seankhenptah, however, may not have managed to attain this ideal. He

¹² Similarly, Gardiner and Sethe, *Letters to the Dead*, pp. 1–3. Another, not very credible, attempt to reconstruct the family relationships is found in Pirenne, *Histoire des institutions*, pp. 366–69.

¹³ For the term "house of the father," see Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, pp. 257–65.

may have feared that his dead father might view the delivery of the leather as a kind of squandering—it was perhaps not the first time that the wealth of the household passed into other hands.

This, however, is all speculation. It is equally possible that Iii the father of Seankhenptah and Iii the elder were different persons. The latter Iii may have been some living person whose authority Seankhenptah feared.

I do not think it advisable to choose between the alternatives here. There is simply too much we do not know. One can only hope that Seankhenptah's tomb will be rediscovered one day. If any reliefs remain, they may inform us in greater detail about his family.¹⁴

¹⁴ See n. 1 above. The tomb lies north of Isesi's pyramid. Fakhry's excavations in the area are only being published now but may furnish interesting new evidence (see M. Moursi, "Die Ausgrabungen in der Gegend um die Pyramide des *Dd-k3-R^c* "Issj" bei Saqqara I," *ASAE* 71 [1987]: 185–93; *ibid.*, pt. 2, *GM* 105 [1988]: 65–68; *ibid.*, pt. 3, *GM* 106 [1988]: 65–72).

A TALE OF TIŠŠARULI(YA): A DRAMATIC INTERLUDE IN THE HITTITE KI.LAM FESTIVAL?*

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AMONG the fragments recently published by M. Popko in KUB 58, there is one surprising text that calls for a more detailed discussion than a review would allow.¹ Number 48 was originally a six-column tablet of which only the beginning of the third and the end of the fourth columns are preserved, along with some ends of lines of the second and fifth column written in the margins between the respective columns (inter-columnia). Popko, in his introductory remarks to the texts, draws attention to another occurrence of the word *taḫušṭama/i* obv. iii 19, and for the reverse he states: "Gespräch des Königs mit den Leuten von Tiššarulija. Zu CTH 627 ?" The obverse does indeed belong to the KI.LAM festival. It duplicates (KBo 20.99 +) KBo 21.52 ii 12'-21' (= B ii 17'-26')² and is therefore part of the so-called third tablet of the KI.LAM festival.³ The duplicate is quite exact and need not be written out here. From iii 9' = B ii 25' onwards, it supplies an additional twenty lines which were previously unknown. The scattered traces of the second and fifth columns mentioned above are too few to be recognized as duplicates.

It is, however, the preserved part of the fourth column on the reverse that interests us here. A duplicate of KUB 58.48 iv 2'-10' (1A) turns out to be KUB 36.45 (1B), which is listed under CTH 39: "Fragments en vieux-hittite, de nature inconnue," whereas KUB 43.31 (2) can serve as a close parallel. More distantly related is KBo 13.228 (3A), which is duplicated by KUB 44.10 (3B). A transliteration and translation of these fragments and a commentary on them follow below.

Transliteration

1. A = KUB 58.48 rev. iv 1'-16'
B = KUB 36.45:1'-11' (5'-10' = A iv 2'-10')

* A separate review of KUB 58 will be published in *BiOr*. In writing this article I profited especially from the many, very valuable remarks made by H. A. Hoffner and his permission to use the files of the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary*, which is supported by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. I also would like to thank H. G. Güterbock and R. H. Beal for their comments. To Margaret Schroeder I am indebted for helping me with

my English. The abbreviations used in this article follow the conventions adopted by the Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (*CHD*).

¹ M. Popko, *Hethitische Rituale und Festbeschreibungen*, Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi 58 (Berlin, 1988).

² The indication of the manuscripts of the KI.LAM festival follows I. Singer, *StBoT* 28:1-5; for the third tablet, see *ibid.*, pp. 1 and 22-26.

³ The fragment IBoT 4.208, not yet known to Singer at the time of the edition, and mentioned by Hoffner, *IBoT* 4, p. xxxi as similar to KBo 20.99 + ii 18-22, now joins KUB 59.22. I will deal with this in a forthcoming article.

- B** 1' [room for ca. 7 signs LUGAL-uš^a G]AL ME-^rŠE-DI^r *pí-i-e-ez-z[i]*
 2' [ca. 7 signs UM-MA ŠU-]MA *ma-a-wa za-aḫ ḫi-ya ú[-e-eš(?)]*
 3' [ca. 9 signs -]e-ez-zi *nu-wa-at-ta ku-i[t(?)]*
 4' [ca. 9 signs]x^b-wa ^dU-an *at-ta-ma-an*
 5' [ca. 9 signs]x UZU UDU *ki-it-ta*

- A** 2'^c *e-et* ^rnu^r-z[*a iš-pa-a-i e-ku nu-*] ^rza-ni-in-gi^r/^rik^{rld}
 3' UM-MA ŠU-MA ^rták-ku-mi-wa ^rU-UL[-w]a^r ^raz^re-et-mi
 4' e^{le}-^rku^r-mi-wa ^rU-UL^f *za-aḫ-ḫi-ya-wa*
 5' *ú-wa-nu-un* LUGAL-ša^g *te-ez-zi*
 6' *ku-i-ta^h-wa za-aḫ-ḫi-ya-ma ú-e-eš nu-wa SIG₅-in*

- 7' GALⁱ LÚ.MEŠ^k URU^r *ti-iš-ša-ru-li-ya* LUGAL-*i*
 8' *me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da^l* SAG.DU-ZU *ni-ni-ik-zi*
 9' *ta-aš-ta pa-iz-zi* EGIR-*pa-ma^m-aš*
 10' *nam-ma ú-iz-zi na-aš^{NA4} ḫu-u-wa-ši-ya*
 11' LUGAL-*i ḫi-ik-taⁿ* LUGAL-uš GAL ME-ŠE-DI
 12' *pí-i-e-zi* GAL ME-ŠE-DI <GAL>LÚ.MEŠ^{URUR} *ti-iš^r-ša-ru-li-ya*
 13' *pu-nu-uš-zi ku-it-wa ú-e-eš [?]*
 14' UM-MA ŠU-MA *ku-it-ma-wa-ar up[-]*
 15' *pa-a-un* ÉRIN.MEŠ-*az-mi-ša*
 16' *ḫa-an-ti šar-ra-at-ta-ti*
 (lower edge)

^a For this restoration see A iv 11'–12'. ^b -š/t]a- ? (e.g., *kaš*]a-wa?). ^c A iv 1' offers a trace of one sign (^re^r/^rú^r[-/ka[l- ??]), the position of which in B 5' is uncertain. ^d **B** 6' -]in-ki. ^e Copy shows TÁK. ^f B 7' *ták*-[k]u-mi-wa ^rU^r-UL-wa-za^r ^re^r-ku-mi[] (see commentary, below). ^g B 8' -uš. ^h **B** 8' *ku-it-wa*. ⁱ B 9' omits GAL. ^k B 9' omits MEŠ. ^l B omits *menahḫanda*. ^m **B** 10' omits -ma-. ⁿ **B** 11' U]Š-^rKE-EN^r.

Both manuscripts show New Script; for B, cf. E in lines 1', 5', URU, LI in line 9', and IT line 5'. Manuscript A has older forms of KÛ, LI, URU, and IK (but see also below ad A iv 2'), but younger E, ŠAR (with the two verticals at the end), and AZ/UK. The signs DA/IT and UZ do not have their typical Middle Hittite shape. As far as the language of the fragments is concerned, they point to an Old Hittite predecessor; note, among other things, spellings such as *pí-i-e(-ez)-zi* (A iv 12', **B** 1'), the 2 sg. pret. *uēš* "you came" from *uwa-* (A iv 6', 13'), the use of the possessive enclitic -mi/-ma- "mine" in *atta(n)-man* (B 4'), and of the non-geminating conjunction -a (A iv 5', 6', 15'). In general, i.e., concerning ductus, spelling, and grammar, **B** seems to be a more "modernized" version than A.

Commentary

B 2' For the restoration at the end of the line, see A iv 4'–6' below. The speaker of the lines **B** 3'–A iv 2' must be the Hittite king because only he could speak of the

Stormgod as “my father.” Probably, therefore, the king is the subject of the 3 sg. pres. -]ezzi in B 3', although it could still be the chief of the *MEŠEDI*, who reports the words of the king in case the representative of the town of Tissaruliya⁴ has come for battle (“If you have come for battle, then the king shall say: . . .”). The king, at any rate, seems to invite his rival here to a meal, perhaps in honor of the Stormgod.⁵

A iv 2' The restoration is based on -]pa-i in KUB 43.31 left col. 6' (for which see below) and the general context. This conforms to the space in the handcopy. Instead of a simple *eku* “drink!,” an extra *ma* would probably still fit in the available space.⁶ Although this line seems to reflect direct speech, there is no particle -wa(r-); this particle is also lacking in lines 15' (-16'). A reading (*ni-in*)-ik¹ at the end of the line presupposes the later variant of the sign IK. The fact that the older variant is used by the scribe in 11' poses no problem, as the use of both forms within a single text is often seen, especially in copies of older texts. For a 2 sg. imp. sing. *ni-in-ki* in B 6', cf. KUB 43.63 obv. 6 (CTH 458, OH/NS); for *ni-in-ik*, cf. 516/z rev.⁷ 4 in H. Otten's review of J. Tischler, *Das hethitische Gebet der Gassulijawiya* (Innsbruck, 1981) in *IF* 89 (1984): 300 with n. 5 in a similar context; *ni-in-gi*, suggested by H. A. Hoffner, seems to be otherwise unattested, but cf. *ni-in-ga* KUB 33.11 ii 12' (CTH 324, OH/NS).

3'-4' The reading *ták-* seems assured for B 6' and A iv 3' and 4'. In B 7', near the end of the line, however, the damaged sign still shows the tops of two parallel vertical wedges, excluding TÁK and favoring E. This, in turn, suggests that the scribe of A made a mistake in line 4', and we therefore probably should emend it to *e¹-ku-mi*. This also saves the text from the contradiction that would arise out of a reading *ták-ku-mi* in A iv 4': “I will *takku-*, (but) I will not eat, (and) I will not *takku-*.” The verb *takku-* probably expresses a simple notion such as “to stay, linger” and could be related to the medio-passive *takku(wa)-*, the meaning of which is uncertain.⁷ The active, transitive verb *dak(ku)dakuwa-*, used of bringing animals into their stables,⁸ could be considered a causative reduplication of the type (medio-pass.) *eš/aš-* “to sit, dwell” vs. *ašeš-* “to set, seat.” A clue as to why the mistake was made by the scribe is suggested by the duplicate B 7', where the first traces point to *tá]k-[k]u-mi-wa* rather than *]e¹-et-mi-wa*. The -wa, however, would be problematic here. Not allowing a preceding negation, it would imply a positive “I will eat” where the negative statement is expected. All this suggests, as H. G. Güterbock has pointed out, that the B version probably stylized the positive-negative contrast in two parallel sentences: (6) *tak-kumi-wa* (7) [*UL-wa-za etmi tá]kkumi-wa UL-wa-za ekumi* “I will stay(?), (but) I will not eat, I will stay(?), (but) I will not drink.” The scribe of A, conflating the last two sentences, expressed the idea in a shorter form: “I shall stay but neither eat nor drink.”

⁴ For the town of Tiššaruli(ya), see G. del Monte, *Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes (RGTC)* 6, s.v. to which can now be added KUB 58.48 rev. 7.12 and KUB 59.22 ii 6, 7; fragmentary are KBo 12.322:2, 4, 8(?) and KBo 8.124 + rev.(?) 9 (cf. Singer, *StBoT* 27, 29).

⁵ See KUB 29.1 i 26: *nu EGIR-pa addaš-man dU-an walluški* “And again I will praise my

father, the Stormgod” (variant in KUB 29.3:6' *atta-man* ^dIŠKUR-a[n]).

⁶ For other and similar examples of this phrase, see A. Kammenhuber, *Materialien* 4, 32-33 and *CHD* s.v. *nink-*.

⁷ See E. Neu, *StBoT* 5:162-63.

⁸ *Ibid.*

6', 13' The form *uēš* "you came" (also below 3A 6') is clearly older than the usual *uwaš* and still shows the original stem vocalism. For a possible 1 sg. pret. *uenun* "I came," see below ad 2. left col. 8'.

12' The writing *pí-i-e-zi* for the 3 sg. pres. of *piya-* "to send" was previously unattested.

14' The writing *-(wa)-ar* without an enclitic could be due to the vocalic Anlaut of the next word; cf. below ad KBo 13.228 obv. 6'. When reading *kuit*, the *-ma* is difficult to account for, although *kuit* in its conjunctive meaning "because" would fit the preceding "why" question. Reading *kuitma(n)-* "while" with assimilation of the *-n-* is another possibility. It is not clear whether *pāun* (15') "I went" goes with the *kuit/kuitman* sentence, in which case the apodosis is 15'–16' (ÉRIN . . . *šarrattati*), or whether *up[-* is the beginning of the verb and *pāun* is already the main sentence. The only other contextually possible reading instead of *up[-* seems to be K[Á "gate" ("While I went out of the gate, . . . ?"), suggested by Hoffner.

15'–16' For the missing particle of direct speech *-wa(r)-*, see above ad A 2'. The same phrase with an added *pankuš* "the entire (army)" occurs in the omen KUB 34.14 + 1429/c:11'–12' (CTH 534; cf. K. K. Riemschneider, *Omentexte*, pp. 198–99).

Translation

B 1' [. . . The king] sends the [chi]ef of the *MEŠEDI* [. . . Thus he] (speaks): "If for a battle [you have] co[me (??)], then the king wi[ll [. . .], and what to you [have I done(?) Let us praise(??)] the Stormgod, My Father (obj.),⁹ [. . .] sheep meat is lying there,

A 2' (so) eat and [satisfy your hunger, drink an]d satisfy your thirst."

3' He (i.e., the chief of the men of Tiššaruliya, speaks) thus: "I will stay(?), (but) I will neither eat

4' nor drink. For a battle

5' I have come." The king says:

6' "But why have you come for a battle? (Everything is) all right."

7' The chief of the men of Tiššaruliya

8' moves (shakes/nods?) his head towards the king,

9' and he departs. But then he

10' returns, and at the *huwaši*

11' he bows before the king. The king sends

12' the chief of the *MEŠEDI*. The chief of the *MEŠEDI* questions

13' (the chief of) the men of Tiššaruliya: "Why have you come?"

14' He (speaks) thus: "Because/ While . . . []

15' I went, but my troops

16' have split up."

⁹ Theoretically also a gen. sg. is possible for *atta(n)man*, cf. *CHD* s.v. *-mi/-ma-* c 5'b'.

Among the large group of festival fragments listed under CTH 670, we find three fragments, KUB 43.31, left col. (2), and KBo 13.228 obv. (3A) with its duplicate KUB 44.10 rev.⁷ (3B), that seem similar to the above composition. In the case of KUB 43.31, we are clearly dealing with a festival or at least a ritual context in its right column.¹⁰ Its left column, however, seems to run closely parallel to 1A and B. KBo 13.228, though less obvious, has also been catalogued as a festival fragment, as can now be confirmed by the obverse of its duplicate KUB 44.10. The character of these passages now becomes somewhat clearer thanks to the better preserved KUB 58.48.

2. KUB 43.31

right col.

x +1 A-ŠAR x[
 2 LÚ.MEŠ x[
 3 ^dUTU-wa-a[š

4 LUGAL-uš wa-a[r-
 5 (blank)

6 TÚG šal-la^aTÚG x[
 7 x[

8 SALú-wa-ú-wa-aš x[
 9 hu-e-ek-zi t[a-
 10 tu-un-na-ak-ki-i[š-

11 ŠA 10 GUD.MAḪ.ḪIA x[
 12 x² x x x[

^a Or ŠAL.LA?

left col.

x +1]rzi¹ x x[
 2]MEŠ ma-wa-x[
 3 -]i-iz-zi (erasure) nu-wa-x[
 4]^rd¹IM-an at-ta-r¹ma¹-an
 5 nu²-w)a mar-nu-an ki-it-ta
 6 [UZU²UDU ki-it-ta nu-za e-et nu-za iš-] pa-i e-ku nu-r¹za¹ ni-i-ik
 7 [? UM-MA ŠU-MA ták-ku-mi-i]a²-ú-wa n[a-a]t-tu-wa-az
 8 [e-et-mi e-ku-mi-wa-az na-at-ta za-aḫ-ḫi-ya-wa] ú-e-nu-[u]n

¹⁰ See K. K. Riemschneider, KUB 43 p. v, "Rituell."

- 9 [LUGAL-*uš te-ez-zi ku-it-wa za-aḫ-ḫi-ya ú-e-eš nu-wa la-a*]z-zi-[†]*in*¹
 10 [LÚ^{URU}*ti-iš-ša-ru-li-ya LUGAL-i SAG.DU-z*]u ni-i-ni-i[k-z]i
 11 [*ta-aš-ta pa-iz-zi EGIR-pa-ma-aš nam-ma ú-*][†]i/e[†]-zi

- 12]x(-)pal-ši-ya-aš
 13]ma[
 14]x[

The ductus of KUB 43.31 looks old, with older sign forms of AK, E, IK, and ŠAR, sometimes narrow word spaces, and the narrow intercolumnium. The left column runs very close to 1A and B in the lines 2'–11' but seems to differ thereafter. The restorations after 1A and B are tentatively made and meant to convey the overall sense of the passage rather than to be an exact reconstruction of its lost part. The fact that the space one has to assume to the left for some lines (e.g., 9') does not coincide with others (e.g., 7'), probably points to a partly different wording for this fragment. The first sign of the right col. 12' is partly written in the left intercolumnium and may be the end of a (lost) word from the left column.

- 7' For this line, where one would expect a correspondence to 1A iv 3' (*UMMA ŠU=MA takkumi=wa UL=wa=az etmi*), the only solution seems to be to read *ták-ku-mi-i]a-u-wa* as Hoffner has suggested.¹¹ In view of the close parallelism with 1A and B, and the lack of other possible readings, *n[a-a]t-tu-wa-az* (*natt(a)=wa=az*) seems required for the immediately following signs with apparent suppression of the final *-a* in *natta*.
- 8' In view of *uwanun* "I came" in A iv 5; the form *uenun* in line 8' might actually be the same and still preserve the original stem vocalism.¹²
- 9' Important to note is confirmation of *lazzin* (line 9') as the Hittite reading of SIG₅-*in* (1A iv 6'),¹³ originally proposed by A. Goetze, "The Beginning of the Hittite Instructions for the Commander of the Border Guards," *JCS* 14 (1960): 71–72.
- 11' The first trace of line 11' excludes a restoration of *ú-i]z-zi* but rather points to *-]i/e-zi*, which, although not yet attested, in itself would not be surprising in an Old Hittite text.
- 12' Up to this line, KUB 43.31 can be viewed as closely paralleling 1A and B. The *]x(-)palšiyaš* in line 12', however, is difficult to account for.¹⁴

¹¹ For the writing of the quotative particle as *-u-wa-*, see Hoffner, review of H. Otten, *Die Apologie Hattusilis III: Das Bild der Überlieferung* (Wiesbaden, 1981) in *JAOS* 105 (1985): 338–39. Another, although less likely, possibility would be to read *ták-ku-mi-]e[†]-ú-wa*, recalling on the one hand such plene writings as *-te-ni-i* for the 2 pl. pres. (KBo 22.1:31', 33'; OS), or 2 sg. imp. in *-ški* with *-ki-i* (KBo 7.28 obv. 23', KBo 21.60 + rev. 15'), probably indicating some sort of emphatic speech, and the spelling of the pres. sg. 1–3 endings with e-vocalism such as *-hé*, *-še*, and *-zé*.

¹² See also above ad 1A iv 6', 13'; for the paradigm of *uwe/a-* and its diachronic interpretation, see also N. Oettinger, *Stammbildung*, 131–34.

¹³ Cf. *HW*² s.v. *aššu-* 493a, 513a–515a, and *CHD* s.v. *lazzi-*.

¹⁴ As Hoffner has suggested, it is conceivable that instead of the term GAL *MEŠEDI*, in this version the name of this officer was used, whereupon R. H. Beal mentioned *Li-KASKAL-iš* in KBo 7.14 obv. 8. This man seems to have been one of the commanders of the Hittite army during the Old Hittite kingdom, possibly a GAL *MEŠEDI* or a GAL *GESTIN* as

3. A = KBo 13.228 obv.

B = KUB 44.10 rev.[?] (2'-8' = A 4'-12')

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| A x +1 | NINDA.KUR ₄ [RA o o o]x(-)ṛan[?] |
| 2 | ki[- o o o o]x |
| 3 | t[a(-) o o d]a-a-i |
| <hr/> | |
| 4 | LUGAL-uš UGULA LÚ ME-ŠE-DI |
| 5 | pí-i-e-ez-zi |
| 6 | ku-it-wa-ra ^a ú-e-eš |
| 7 | ma-wa LUGAL-i |
| 8 | kal ¹ -li-iš-šu ^b -wa-an-zi |
| 9 | ú-wa-nu-un |
| 10 | ṛUGULAṛ LÚ.ṛMEŠṛṛME-ŠE-DIṛ |
| 11 | LUGAL-i ḫ[a-lu-]kán |
| 12 | ṛpé ¹ -e-ṛda ¹ -a-i ^c |
| B rev. [?] 9' | [nu LUGAL-uš E]GIR-pa |
| 10' | [UGULA LÚ ME-ŠE-]DI pí-i-e[-ez-zi] |
| 11' | [o o o o]x kal-li-i[š- |
| 12' | [o o o o]x x x x ^d [|
| 13' | [o o o o o]x (-)pí-iš[|
| 14' | []x[|

^a B rev.[?] 4'-w[a¹-ar. ^b B rev.[?] 5' add. -u-. ^c Here A reaches its lower edge; B rev.[?] 8' pí-e-da-ṛi¹. ^d Hoffner suggests pé-ṛe¹-ṛdu¹-ṛma¹-an[-zi.

Fragment 3A: cf. BI (5'), E (5'), IT (6'), LI (8'), and B; cf. on the rev.[?] BI (8', 13'), E (4', 8', 10'), DA (8'); both show the later thirteenth-century script, although B still twice preserves the older form of LI (rev.[?] 5', 11'). Both copies also retain the older spelling pí-i-e-ez-zi (A 5', B rev.[?] 10') and share with 1A the unusual writing of the quotative particle -wa-ra/ar (3A 6', 3B rev.[?] 4', cf. 1A IV 14') without enclitic. On the second column of the obv. in 3A, only a few illegible traces are preserved; the reverse is not preserved.

4'-12' "The king sends the chief of the *MEŠEDI* (and he says): 'Why have you come?' (and he answers:) 'I wanted to call upon(?)¹⁵ the king.' The chief of the *MEŠEDI* brings the message to the king. [The king] sends [the chief of the *MESE*]DI back (saying:) '...'"

Beal had already proposed, "The Organization of the Hittite Military" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1986). Because of the trace at the beginning of line 12', one would have to assume a writing ^mli-]ṛe¹-pal-ši-ya-aš. There are, however, several problems: first there is the -ya-stem of -palšiyaš vs. the -i-stem of Li-KASKAL-iš. Second, one would expect an accusative judging from the main text (1A IV 11'). Although these problems do not seem

to be insurmountable, the possible solutions are too uncertain to be pursued further here.

¹⁵ For *kallešš-* + dat. "to call upon, invoke" vs. *kallešš-* + acc. "to call/invite someone," see KBo 10.45 i 38' *karuiliyaš* DINGIR.MEŠ-aš *kalleššuwana-*[(zi)]*uwanan* "So bin ich . . . gekommen, um die uralten Göttern anzurufen" (Otten's translation in "Eine Beschwörung der Unterirdischen aus Boğazköy," *ZA* 54 [1961]: 121).

the king at the *huwaši*-monument. The chief of the *MEŠEDI*, then, on behalf of the king, asks again why the man has come. This time he seems to be in trouble, for his army "has split up." One could go further and speculate on the possibility of 3A and B being the sequel to this conversation, if we translate *kallešš*- here as "call upon" in the sense of someone asking for help.

The scene of an interrogation by the king or one of his representatives is occasionally seen in historical or at least narrative texts of an historical nature.¹⁶ This probably was one of the reasons why KUB 36.45 was initially considered a historical fragment. The appearance, however, of this sort of a text within a festival is rather surprising and calls for an explanation. There is, of course, the possibility of a *Sammeltafel*, where two or more unrelated compositions are given on one tablet. Recently L. Mascheroni has devoted an article to the phenomenon of the *Sammeltafel*.¹⁷ From her material it appears that, although unrelated, the texts always seem to belong to the same genre. Religious compositions are most frequently grouped on such a tablet, for example two rituals or a combination of a ritual and a hymn or omens. In a few cases, texts of an historical nature are combined, such as the Anitta-text with the chronicle about the reign of Ammuna. There is also a collection of letters dealing with Assur placed together on one tablet.¹⁸ This makes the recording of a festival fragment along with an alleged historical text unlikely. Moreover, why would only a part of the third tablet of the KI.LAM festival, which covered at least eleven tablets, be combined with another totally unrelated text? There remains the possibility of a school tablet written by a student scribe. No special remarks, however, are made by Popko in his "Inhaltsübersicht" about the script or any unusual traits of the tablet that would justify such a hypothesis. Of course one could be dealing with an advanced student, but that is all mere speculation. The same holds true for the final possibility of a sort of memorandum, a tablet for quickly recording a short note. Normally this is indicated by a sloppy, superficial kind of script or even another tablet format.¹⁹ Once again nothing of the kind is indicated by Popko. On the contrary, if the tablet is indeed a six-column tablet, this already seems to exclude at least the last two possibilities and favors viewing the entire tablet as a festival text. The three fragments KUB 43.31 (2), KBo 13.228 (3A), and KUB 44.10 (3B), although contributing little to the understanding of the passage under discussion, also point in the direction of a festival context, as we have seen above. Another point which argues strongly against its genuine historical character is the use of the present tense throughout, excluding the phrases in direct speech. Thus it seems best, for the time being, to accept fragments 1A and B as part of the KI.LAM festival, as long as there are no similar fragments that can be attributed with certainty to other festivals. This means that texts 2 and 3A and B might be part of this festival too.

¹⁶ See KBo 3.34 i 19–23, one of the palace chronicles covering the questioning of the men with their blood smeared garments, or KBo 1.11, about the siege of the city of Ursa with the king interrogating Sanda; see also the letter KBo 18.54, about the siege of another city, where such a discussion is already anticipated by the author.

¹⁷ *Fs. Pugliese Carratelli*, pp. 131–45.

¹⁸ KUB 23.92 and KUB 23.103; see Otten, "Ein Brief aus Hattuša an Bābu-aḫu-iddina," *Afo* 19

(1959–60): 39–46. These tablets, *stricto sensu*, fit the definition of a *Sammeltafel*, although the reason for compiling them might be different from the cases of a *Sammeltafel* mentioned above. Probably for that reason they are not mentioned by Mascheroni, *Fs. Pugliese Carratelli*, pp. 131–45.

¹⁹ For example, KUB 28.88 + KUB 40.85; cf. H.-S. Schuster, *HHB* 34 and R. Werner, *StBoT* 4:69–70.

If, then, this discussion between the king and/or the chief of the *MEŠEDI*, on the one hand, and the representative of Tiššaruli(ya), on the other, forms part of the festival, it reads, especially with its present tense forms in the narrative, as a sort of dramatic interlude, a reenactment of a perhaps once historical reality. The people of Tiššaruli(ya) are mentioned²⁰ in the KI.LAM festival among the recipients in the ration lists and were consequently participants in the festival. The purpose of the tale told in 1A and B could be an etiological one, explaining how the people of Tiššaruli(ya) became involved in the festival.

Parts of a more dramatic nature, outside the usual reciting, libating, offering, and the like, are not unknown in festival contexts. One is reminded, for example, of the athletic contests occurring in festivals,²¹ or such scenes as the shooting of the “wolf-man” by the female archer in the recently published KUB 58.14,²² or the famous mock battle between “the men of Hatti” and “the men of Masa” in the festival for Iyarri of Gursamassa.²³ As it now stands, little can be said with certainty about the events recorded in the above fragments and their role in the festival, but one can hope that future discoveries will increase our understanding of “The Tale of Tiššaruli(ya).”

²⁰ Singer, StBoT 28:103, iii 8, 27 and 113 iv 24.

²¹ See C. Carter, “Athletic Contests in Hittite Religious Festivals,” *JNES* 47 (1988): 185–87.

²² Rev.⁷ left col. 24'–28'; cf. Neu, StBoT 18:82.

²³ KUB 17.35 iii 9–17; and Carter, “Hittite Cult Inventories” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1962), pp. 129–30.

THE SURVIVAL OF ANCIENT ANATOLIAN AND MESOPOTAMIAN VOCABULARY UNTIL THE PRESENT

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THERE is little doubt that words from extinct Near Eastern languages have continued up into modern times. The words I am referring to are not those that survived through cognates in languages still alive, but rather those that survived through loans into unrelated languages which have continued up to our day. Thus some scholars have argued for the continuation of Hurrian and Urartian through Armenian, and others also suspect there is Akkadian and Hurrian vocabulary surviving in Persian. In addition, we see what must be Indo-European words of Anatolian shape prospering in Iranian, Armenian, and Turkish. Many rather solid examples can be offered,¹ and among them let us note first Akk. *šallūru* "a fruit, possibly of the medlar,² but most likely a plum," Arm. *salor*, dialects *šlor* "plum."³ This word does not exist elsewhere in Semitic or in Indo-European. It is likely that it is not original in Akkadian,⁴ since, as I. M. Diakonoff has pointed out, the plum did not grow in ancient Mesopotamia.⁵ Like

¹ Most of these etymologies have been offered obscurely over the last half century by Russian and Armenian scholars. By and large the first pairings of these words lacked any philological support. For citations, I give the most easily accessible reference in a Western language if available and, where appropriate, the first mention of the term in scholarly literature. Arm. *brut*: see Nerses A. Mkrtchian, "Otklonenija ot zakonomernostej Armjanskogo jazykov svete dannyx akadskogo jazyka," *Istoriko-filologičeskij žurnal* 4 (1979): 219–34; esp. 216 (hereafter N. Mkrtchian 1979); *bur*: H. Adjarian, *Hayoc' lezvi patmut' ywn* (Yerevan, 1940), p. 196 (hereafter Adjarian 1940); *car*: I. M. Diakonoff, *Hurrisch und Urartäisch* (Munich, 1971), p. 85; idem "Ancient Near Eastern Substrata in Armenian," *Annual of Armenian Linguistics (AArmL)* 3 (1982): 13–18; *marx*: see my article "Two Points on Hurrian-Armenian Lexical Relationships," in *Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East: Studies in Honour of I. M. Diakonoff* (Warminster, 1982), pp. 117–19, esp. p. 117; *salor*: Diakonoff, "Ancient Near Eastern Substrata," p. 17; M. L. Khachikian, *Khurritskij i Urartskij jazyki* (Yerevan, 1985), p. 55; *ʿonir*: N. Mkrtchian 1979, p. 224; G. B. Djahukian, "Akkadian Loan Words in Armenian," *AArmL* 3 (1982): 1–12, esp. p. 10; *zurna*: see my articles "The Anatolian Substrata in Armenian—An Interim Report," *AArmL* 3 (1985): 65–72, esp. p. 70; and

"The Etymology of Gr. σῶπρυς," *Historische Sprachforschung* 3 (1990): 35–37; ult: N. Adontz, "Emprunts de haute époque en arménien," *Revue des études indo-européennes* 1 (1938): 457–67, esp. p. 465; Diakonoff, *Hurrisch und Urartäisch*, p. 85.

² M. Zohary, *Geobotanical Foundations of the Middle East* (Stuttgart, 1973), p. 629, locates the medlar especially in the mesophilous forest of the northern Middle East, where it was possibly cultivated.

³ Dialect examples are numerous: Alashkert, Mush, Julfa *šlor*, Yerevan *slōr*, Tiflis *šlur*, Goris *šlēōr*, Gharabagh (Karabakh) *šalliw*.

⁴ Nor is it likely that it came to Armenian via Akkadian; see my article "'Akkadian' Loan Words in Armenian," *AArmL* 10 (1989): 73–84, esp. p. 77.

⁵ D. Zohary and M. Hopf, *Domestication of Plants in the Old World: The Origin and Spread of Cultivated Plants in West Asia, Europe and the Nile Valley* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 157–58, confirm that the plum (*Prunus domestica*) was known only in the temperate areas of Europe and Turkey. Though the actual cultivation of plums is known specifically only from Roman times, pre-Neolithic carbonized plum-stones similar to those of the *P. domestica* have been found, implying that the *P. domestica* did result without human intervention. M. Zohary has stated earlier (*Geobotanical Foundations*, p. 629), that "the (Middle East) was probably never a site of domestication of plums." He added, though, that the plum, along with other fruit trees and such hardwoods as the oak and beech, was abundant in Turkey and, to a lesser extent, in western Iran (*ibid.*, pp. 74–75, 376). H. L. Werneck and K. Bertsch, "Zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Pflaumen im oberen Rhein- und Donauräume," *Angewandte Botanik*

the words for "lime" and "oven" which follow, we have an ancient word, known variously in ancient times, that has survived in Modern Armenian.

Akk. *pīlu*, *pūlu* and Arm. *buṛ*, "plaster, lime"; Gk. *πῶρος* "tufa, stone"; Ur. *pulusi* "stone, stele": it seems most probable that we are not dealing with a word that is original to Akkadian (no cognates exist in other Semitic languages) but rather some ancient wandering word from an unspecifiable language. That both Urartian and Akkadian show an *-l-* while Armenian and Greek show *-r-* might imply that Urartian and Akkadian are somehow linked separately while Greek and Armenian have their own approximate relation. The ultimate source of the word is not known, but an ancient Anatolian or Mesopotamian origin is probable.

The case of Akkadian *tinūru* "oven" is slightly different. Its Semitic parallels are demonstrated in Hebrew *תַּנּוּר* (*tanūr*), Aramaic *תַּנּוּרָא* (*tanūrā*), and Arabic *tanūr*. Yet the word is also known in Middle Persian as *tanūr*, a word that continues without change into modern Persian. Yet the Hebrew form is considered a loan from Akkadian,⁷ while the Arabic is a loan from Aramaic which in turn comes from Iranian, and that in turn from Akkadian. There are even further loans northward: Armenian has *t'onir*, and there is metathesized Georgian *toren*, while small Udi, also with metathesis, sports *tarun* and *tarna*.⁸ In the form *tandır*, the word is known in Turkish, while Azeri has a similar *təndir*.⁹ Thus this ancient Mesopotamian word has survived through the intermediacy of Persian, and is a working word still in the various languages of the Caucasus where to this day village bread is made in communal ovens.

Other terms have survived on a less dramatic level. Urartian *šarā* "orchard" turns up as Arm. *car* "tree" and in Georgian presumably as *c'aravi* "bushy" and *c'aropi* "small grove of willows." An etymology of great clarity joins Urartian *ulū-* to Arm. *ult*, both having the meaning "camel."¹⁰ We might refer to other instances. Hitt. *purut-* "clay" is continued in Armenian as *brut* "potter."¹¹ A Kurdish parallel, *pūrūd* "potter," exists but

33 (1959): 19–33, suggest that *P. domestica* is indigenous at least to central Europe. And though no claim has yet been made for *P. domestica* in Turkey, there is no real reason to suspect that the natural development of the plum would have been different there; see also Diakonoff, "K drevnevostočnomu substratu v armjanskom jazyke," *Istoriko-filologičeskij žurnal* 1 (92) (1981): 56–78, esp. 71 (hereafter Diakonoff 1981); and idem, "Ancient Near Eastern Substrata," p. 17.

⁶ Lime (calcium oxide) is derived from native limestone usually by burning the stone in a kiln; limestone is especially common and, with the kindred dolomites, represents about 10 percent of all sedimentary rocks, occurring on every continent.

⁷ S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*, AS 19 (Chicago, 1974), p. 108, notes that the word "seems" Semitic, but the origin is obscure. It appears in Akkadian only from the Middle Babylonian period (Alalakh). See also L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leiden, 1985).

⁸ Other Daghestani forms are Khinalug *tonur*, *tonar* and Tabasaran *ttarin*, "oven." However, Vinogradova and G. A. Klimov, "Ob armenizmax v dagistanix jazykax," *Étimologija* 14 (1979): 154–58,

esp. p. 157, consider both these terms Armenian loans; see also V. Ghukasian, *Udinsko-Azerbajdžansko-russkij slovar'* (Baku, 1974).

⁹ The word moved on into India, and we find there Urdu *tandūr*, Punjabi *tanūri*, *tandūri* (see W. P. Hares, *An English-Punjabi Dictionary* [New Delhi, 1988]), Nepali *tanūr*, "clay oven," etc. The word is apparently not known in the Dravidian languages, since this type of oven is not used in those cultures.

¹⁰ It is difficult to say with confidence how this word is further related to Akk. *udru* "camel" or whether that term is itself related to Av. *uštrō*, Per. *uštur* "camel," Skt. *uṣṭra-* "camel, buffalo." Certainly a relationship is possible, if not likely.

¹¹ There is good support for the movement of pottery terms. During the central Anatolian Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2150–1875 B.C.), J. Mellaart (*The Archaeology of Ancient Turkey* [London, 1978], p. 45), relates, for instance, that there were widespread trade contacts between the Hittites and Mesopotamia. There also appears a wheel-made monochrome ware in MBI that corresponds to similar patterns in the east. Mellaart, however (*ibid.*, p. 48), feels that this represents a diffusion to central Anatolia, not from it. Robert Dyson, in the *Cam-*

cannot be a direct Iranian extension; rather, it is more likely, because of its consonantism, a loanword from a West-Armenian dialect.

There are two words which are particularly complicated. One, presumably of Hurrian origin, is continued on in Iranian and Armenian; another, of unknown Anatolian origin (but clearly Indo-European), also is continued in Iranian, Armenian, Georgian, and Turkic.

Let us first consider the word that appears in Armenian as *zuřna* "horn." The root *z-r-n* clearly reflects the same source as Lat. *cornu*, and Goth. *haurn*, IE **k-r-n-*. It is known in Hieroglyphic Luwian with palatalization, formerly as *šurna*, or *surna*, but now as *zurni* with an initial [ts].¹² That it existed with initial palatalization elsewhere in Anatolia is evident from Gk. σῦριγξ "oriental pipe,"¹³ a loan word which parallels the consonantism of Skt. śṛṅga- "horn."¹⁴ The word is known beyond Armenian as Georgian *zurna*, Udi *zurna*, Ingush *zurma*,¹⁵ Turk. *zurna* "oriental pipe." Persian has two terms, *surñā* and *zurnā*.¹⁶ It is difficult to determine which form was original, though F. Meniński says that *zurnā* is a secondary form.¹⁷ This makes a certain amount of sense since Turkish has a tendency to voice a foreign *s*. Even Turkish *salata* can be pronounced *zalata* (though spelled *salata*), and the powerful Arabic word *sunna* "habitual practice" (whence "Sunni") appears, glossing Lat. *lex* as *zuna* in a transcription text, the *Dictionarium latino epiroticum*.¹⁸ Armenian *zuřna* cannot be a direct descendant, for it

bridge *Ancient History*, suggests that the polychromatic pottery in the Urmia basin (ca. 2000 B.C.) was derived from Central Anatolia Alişar III; see R. H. Dyson, "The Archaeological Evidence of the Second Millennium B.C. on the Persian Plateau," *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 686–715, esp. p. 699. But this view was rejected by C. Burney and D. M. Lang, *The Peoples of the Hills: Ancient Ararat and the Caucasus* (London, 1971), p. 101. We are left, nonetheless, with clear evidence for an exchange of pottery, and foreign terms related to that pottery could easily have followed.

Additionally, there might be an ancient relationship between *brut* "potter," and *buř* "plaster." A suffix in *-ut* does exist in Armenian, as a collective formant (*nšut* 'full of almonds') and as an adjectival formant (*elegnut* 'reedy'). See my *Classical Armenian Nominal Suffixes: A Historical Study* (Vienna, 1975), pp. 144–45.

¹² *Šurna*, E. Laroche, *Les Hiéroglyphes hittites* (Paris, 1960); *surna*, P. Meriggi, *Hieroglyphisch-hethitisches Glossar* (Wiesbaden, 1962); idem, *Manuale di eteo gereglifico, Parte I: Grammatica* (Rome, 1966), p. 22; *zurni*, H. C. Melchert, "PIE Velars in Luvian," in C. Watkins, ed., *Studies in Memory of Warren Cowgill* (1929–1985) (Berlin, 1987), pp. 182–204.

¹³ That the term can mean a "pipe" in one language and "horn" in another has parallels: the English horn is a reed instrument, while the French horn is not. The contemporary *zuřna* uses a reed.

¹⁴ Cognates are abundant in the Indic dialects: Pali *siṅga*-, Prakrit *siṅga*-, Hindi *śṅg*, etc.; and in the Nuristani languages: Ashkun *šñi*, Waigali *šñi*,

šñi, etc. See R. L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* (London, 1966), p. 730.

¹⁵ No doubt the terms appear elsewhere in Daghestan, but lexical access to these languages is difficult; see Ghukasian 1974, p. 119.

¹⁶ Folk etymology holds that Per. *surñā* is composed of Per. *sūr*, "wedding," and *nay* "horn." See I. A. Ozdoev, *Russko-Injušskij slovar'* (Moscow, 1980), p. 225.

¹⁷ F. Meniński, *Thesaurus linguarum orientalium turcicae, arabicae, persicae, praecipuas* . . . (Vienna, 1680); I. A. Vullers, *Lexicon persico-latinum etymologicum* (Bonn, 1855–67; reprint Graz, 1962).

¹⁸ This is one of the so-called Turkish transcription texts. See T. Majda, "Present State and Perspectives of the Studies of Ottoman Turkish Linguistic Monuments in Phonetic Transcription (Non-Arabic Scripts)," in A. Gallotta, ed., *Studi preottomani e ottomani: Atti del Convegno di Napoli (24–26 settembre 1974)* (Naples, 1976), pp. 179–80, which give clues to the pronunciation of medieval Turkish through the use of a non-Arabic script. The transcription texts exist in Latin, Armenian, Georgian, Syriac, Cyrillic, Greek, and Hebrew, the oldest dating from ca. 1400. (I would like to thank here Andrzej Pisowicz of Cracow and Robert Dankoff of Chicago for their suggestions on Turkish matters.) See also F. Blanchus, *Dictionarium latino epiroticum: Una cum nonnullis usitatoribus loquendi formulis* (Rome, 1635), reprinted as M. Roques, ed., *Le Dictionnaire albanais de 1635* (Paris, 1932), p. 47. The force of this observation is diluted when we note that there is elsewhere in Turkish other confusion with the voicing of sibilants. To

is known in Armenian only from the nineteenth century, being noted in Riggs' *Lexicon* as a recent loan from Turkish.¹⁹ This point is reinforced by a Turkish-Armenian glossary of two thousand words, drawn up wholly in Armenian script by an Armenian merchant in Erzurum, in 1724.²⁰ The compiler lists, as a Turkish word, *zurna*, and glosses it with the Armenian terms *nuak* 'melody' and *dudulag*,²¹ a dialect form for the *dudak*, "an oriental pipe." Considering the chronology of the arrival of Turkic people into western Asia and Anatolia, it is likely that Turkish got the word from Persian.²² Yet Turkish has used the noun with great vigor, and it became a common loan word in Serbo-Croatian (*zurna* [pl. t.]), as well as in Macedonian and Bulgarian (*zurna*); perhaps Polish *surma*²³ 'trumpet' is somehow related.

The second term is Arm. *marx* or, as it is often spelled, *maxr*,²⁴ but in any case "a type of resinous conifer." This term first appears in the Armenian *Geoponica* (1877: 145 = *mls*),²⁵ *kitāb al-fālāḥin*, of which one manuscript exists: University of Leiden OR 414, a document probably of the tenth century. There we are told that roots can be made rid of infestations of worms by pouring pine pitch into their holes.²⁶ The term is not genus specific but refers to the pitch of any resinous conifer. This point is confirmed in the *Haybusak*, which give its Ottoman equivalent as *čra*, now *čira*, 'resinous pine wood'. It has parallels in Persian as *marx*²⁷ and in North Kurdish as *mərkh* "juniper tree."²⁸ The term, without etymology in Iranian or Armenian, would possibly continue the Hurrian arboreal term *māḥri*.²⁹ Though this Hurrian word does not appear in E. Laroche's

gloss Italian *tempo* Blanchus (ibid., p. 210) gives *saman* instead of a more accurate *zaman* (here compare, of course, Per. *zamān*, though Lat. *aqua*, "water," is glossed appropriately by a voiceless *su* (p. 215); and in spite of the pervasive devoicing of final *z* in Turkish, the transcription text of Blanchus reveals it erratically, showing the gloss of Lat. *novem* "nine" as *docuz* on the one hand (p. 189), but *dokus* (p. 190), and *dochus* (p. 68) elsewhere.

¹⁹ E. Riggs, *Vocabulary of Words Used in Modern Armenian but Not Found in Ancient Armenian Lexicons* (Izmir, 1847).

²⁰ B. L. Chookaszian, ed., *Etia Muşeyan Karnecc'i: T'urk'eren-Hayeren Baġaran* (Yerevan, 1986).

²¹ Both these terms would have Western dialect consonantism. The dialect of Erzurum (Arm. *Karin*) is briefly described in J. A. C. Greppin and A. A. Khachaturian, *A Handbook of Armenian Dialectology* (Delmar, New York, 1986), pp. 91-102; a fuller description can be found in H. M. Mkrtchian, *Karno barbaġa* (Yerevan, 1952).

²² One cannot but wonder if Anatolian *surna* could somehow have survived up to the twelfth century, until the Turks came to Western Asia, and then entered Ottoman Turkish directly.

²³ Near the end of the eighteenth century, a type of strident band music described as "Turkish," or "Janissary," became popular in Europe, and it is perhaps at this time that a word such as *surma* passed into Polish.

²⁴ This is the rather common non-literary form, preserved in such eastern Armenian dialects as Hachin as *mōxrā*, Hamshen *maxrā*, Svedia *miwxar*.

²⁵ . . . ew ar alēk ger marx ew šinea c'ic's, ew ḡc jiw't'ovd, ew zark i yordncakern pint k'arov. The history of the development of the Armenian *Geoponica* from its ultimate Greco-Roman source is outlined in my article "The Armenian and the Greek *Geoponica*," *Byzantion* 57 (1987): 46-55. The Armenian version we have corresponds most closely to the Arabic.

²⁶ This information corresponds generally to the views stated in the Greek *Geoponica*, where the treatment of roots with pitch is noted, 5.9.1: Σωτίων δὲ παραινεῖ, καὶ κεδρία ἐλαχίστη τὰ ἄκρα τῆς ἔδρας τοῦ φουτοῦ χρίειν.

²⁷ From an earlier **maxr*, for which there is a parallel metathesis: note NPer. *čarx* "wheel," Av. *čaxra*. The term is used with, and is partially synonymous with, *afār* "a quickly igniting (resinous) kindling wood." See also *Haybusak kam haykakan busabarut'yun* (Venice, 1895), p. 409.

²⁸ The juniper is abundant in Western Asia, and P. H. Davis, *Flora of Turkey*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1965), p. 81, shows the plant well distributed around the Lake Van area. Greater detail can be found in K. Browicz, *Chorology of Trees and Shrubs in South-East Asia and Adjacent Regions*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1982), pp. 71-72. R. Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten* (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), p. 10, notes that a type of juniper was imported from Syria into pharaonic Egypt.

²⁹ There is an Akkadian correspondent, *mēḥru*, a term known only from the later periods of Assyrian and Babylonian (ninth-sixth centuries). It is doubtful, though, that this could be the source of modern *maxr* since it lacks the proper vowel.

Glossaire,³⁰ it is noted in a list of arboreal terms edited by V. Haas and M. J. Thiel,³¹ where we also find *tabrana* "juniper," *šerminḫi* "cypress," *kišipsuwā* "reed," *ḫinzuri* "(apple) tree,"³² and *taškarḫi* "beech tree."

The system we have discussed here is clearly a small one, and these words, derived apparently from ancient and extinct languages of Anatolia and Mesopotamia, survived until our time because of different factors. We note certain obvious semantic parameters. All these are terms for very specific things. There are two tree terms; there is the plum and camel, and a term pertinent to pottery; there is lime, and two quite particular items, the *tanur* oven and the *zurna* pipe. These are, to varying degrees, unique terms, terms for items often identified with a place, such as plum or clay and lime, or terms for specific items, such as oven or horn. What is important to note is that these terms did not survive in other languages because there were special relationships among the languages.³³ Rather, these words survived because they were precise terms for unique articles, and their names followed the article as it moved to distant lands as surely as a camp following a plodding army.

³⁰ Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite* (= *Revue hittite et asianique* 34–36) (Paris 1976–77).

³¹ V. Haas and M. J. Thiel, "Ein Beitrag zum hurritischen Wörterbuch," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 11 (1979): 337–52, esp. p. 351.

³² Here note Arm. *xnjor* "apple," surely a loan from Hurrian (or the kindred Urartian, where this term is not attested).

³³ I refer to relationships such as we have between French and English or Aramaic and Middle Persian.

BOOK REVIEWS*

Studies in Egyptian Religion: Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee. Edited by M. HEERMA VAN VOSS ET AL. *Numen*, Supplement 43. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1982. Pp. 150 + 1 pl. 56 guilders.

This volume of twelve brief articles was offered by colleagues and pupils of Jan Zandee as a *Festschrift* for the noted Dutch Egyptologist on the occasion of his retirement from the University of Utrecht. A complete list of Zandee's publications up to 1981 fills the first ten pages of the volume and provides an excellent overview of his wide-ranging interest in the esoteric nuances of Egyptian religion, extending from Coffin Text and Book of the Dead spells to the Nag Hammadi gnostic tractates. The articles thereafter offered to the professor are correspondingly varied. In addition to discussions of theological principles (Griffiths), "popular piety" (Posener), sacred animals (Te Velde), etymology (Vergote), and publications of new funerary literature (van Voss and Lelclant), the volume contains as well two discussions of Semitic and Egyptian interactions (Giveon and Mussies), two on Egyptian and Greek interactions (Bergman and van der Horst), and one detailing a Coptic appropriation of the "pagan" iconographic past (Kákosy). Taken as an aggregate, these latter articles on the dialogue between Egyptian, Semitic, Greek, and Christian sources sketch a telling chronological outline of religious diffusion, cross-fertilization, and tolerance in Egypt, from the easy association of native, Canaanite, and Greek deities, through the contentious "one-upmanship" of later Greek and Hebrew sophists (vying for patronage of the Egyptian Thoth), to the haughty disdain and ignorance of early Christianity regarding the civilization it disrespected.

The first article, however, is devoted not to the history of Egypt but of Egyptology, in recognition of Dr. Zandee's major role within Dutch Egyptological scholarship. Reflecting the mature self-consciousness of the discipline, Egyptologists increasingly have begun to examine the careers of early "founders" and "heroes." Growing interest in the lives of Egyptologists and the history of the field itself has made biographical information significant for many new researchers. To this end, D. J. Hoens provides a useful "stemma" of historians of Egyptian religion in the Netherlands (pp. 11–27), though his subjective assessment of individual scholars seems uneven, with favored teachers left uncritiqued even where the errors of pet theories are now obvious or at least debatable, for example, the solar boat as a supposed symbol of the earth or the winged sphinx (misspelled "sfinx" throughout) as symbolic of the soul (p. 13).

Egyptian solar symbolism is unambiguous in the so-called Greek Magical Text discussed by Jan Bergman (pp. 28–37), who identifies the native names for the day and night bark within *voces magicae* addressed to the "Lord of All, Holy Scarabeus" (*PGM* VII, 516–21). As I have demonstrated elsewhere,¹ these magical texts which are composed in varying mixtures of Greek, Demotic, and Old Coptic are often more "Greek" in language than in culture, and Bergman's identification strengthens the contention that these texts must not be viewed in isolation from their basic, Egyptian context. The spell in question is designed to enable one to communicate with one's own daemon² and

¹ See my *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, SAOC (Chicago, forthcoming). See also my notes and those of Bergman in H. D. Betz et al., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (Chicago, 1986), *passim*.

² For the pan-Mediterranean significance of the "personal daemon," see the discussion in P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints* (Chicago, 1982), pp. 50–68.

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comprises an invocation to the scarab (Khepri), concluding with an injunction to "write the (sacred) name with myrrh ink on two male eggs" (p. 29, untranslated by Bergman). Though Bergman is at a loss to explain the choice of "male eggs" (pp. 36–37), the explanation must surely derive from the ancient belief that scarabs were male only and hatched their young from dung ball "eggs" which they rolled.

The succeeding treatment of onomastic attestations of the "hearing god" by Raphael Giveon (pp. 38–42) is introduced by the mention of a stela to Hathor from Serabit el-Khadim³ and which includes a personal name ending in the semitic verb *šm*^c, "to hear." Giveon's insistence (p. 38) that the name [. . .] *m-šm*^c must begin with the divine name [*Šr*]*m*, "Shalim," seems forced considering the damage to the inscription. Nor is there need to discount as "phonetic complement" the *ʿayin* actually present in the name *Mīr-šm*^c, "Mithra has heard," adduced by Giveon as a parallel (p. 38). Given the prominence of Hathor as local patron of the Sinai mines, the Asiatic workman of the stela need not have known of specific Theban associations of the goddess (vs. p. 39), but the interaction of Egyptian and Asiatic cultures is clear nonetheless. The note concludes with a list of names compounded with *šdm*, the Egyptian verb of hearing, and with a quick review of "hearing gods" and their cults in Egypt. To this study should be added the references and discussion in R. Sch(lichting), "Hören," *LÄ*, vol. 2, cols. 1232–35.

J. Gwyn Griffiths's essay on "Motivation in Early Egyptian Syncretism" (pp. 43–55) confronts a most complex topic and effectively expands Bonnet's limitations of the Egyptian approach to the "indwelling of one deity in another rather than the concept of identification or fusion" (cited p. 43). Griffiths suggests a variety of underlying situational motivations and corresponding forms of syncretism for the joining of deity with deity and deity with man: safety and care of the dead, cultic consistency necessitated by a developing state religion, and the extension of the royal personality to sub-

sume divine dimensions. Of these, it is the need of the dead to acquire divinity—and thus an afterlife—that Griffiths selects as primary motivation (p. 55), a conclusion almost necessitated by the nature of our early, almost exclusively funerary evidence. As Griffiths succinctly notes, "the Egyptian polytheistic system implies the belief that strength lies in plurality and diversity" (p. 55). To Griffiths's discussion of the lists of identifications of gods with body parts (pp. 49–50 and 53–55) should be added the classic study of A. Massart, "À propos des «listes» dans les textes funéraires et magiques," *Analecta Biblica* 12 (1959): 227–46.

Personal memories are awakened by the publication by Heerma van Voss of a mythological papyrus in Houston containing scenes from hours IX–XII of the "Book of Amduat" (pp. 56–60). This Twenty-first Dynasty text, an impetus for my own study of Egyptology, was owned by a chantress of Amon and chorister(?) of Mut named Neskhons. The themes of the papyrus are consistent with a body of Amduat papyri of similar date, for which one should now see the general study by Abdel-Aziz Fahmy Sadek, *Contribution à l'étude de l'Amdout*, OBO 65 (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1985). Although the depictions are canonical, the inscriptions are not, and van Voss translates only the names and labels of the owner and a few divinities (pp. 57 and 58, n. 17). There can be no question that the remaining texts are garbled on the papyrus, but a transcription of the signs would still have been useful for further attempts at understanding textual transmission. Repeated phrases do appear, however, suggesting general confusion and the use of text as decoration. One text variation of the Houston papyrus gives the name of the underworld serpent of rebirth as *ʿnh-wšs*, "life and dominion," but the latter sign is mistranslated by van Voss as "frisch sein" (p. 58, n. 20), perhaps a modern aural confusion of the Egyptian homonyms *wšs* and *wšd*.


Of great interest for Roman Egypt and the rise of asceticism are P. W. van der Horst's excerpts from the preserved writings of Chaeremon, Egyptian priest and propagandist, Stoic philosopher, and teacher of Nero before Seneca

³ Published in R. Giveon, "A New Kingdom Stela from Sinai," *IEJ* 31 (1981): 168–71.

(pp. 61–71). Like Manetho before him, Chaeremon represents an Egyptian priest moving with ease among foreign rulers, and his probable positions as head of the Alexandrian school of grammarians and keeper of the famous Mouseion deserve more attention in studies of such late Greco-Egyptian philosophical speculation as the “Hermetic” corpus.⁴ All of the preserved writings and attestations of Chaeremon are now carefully published by van der Horst in *Chaeremon, Egyptian Priest and Stoic Philosopher*, EPRO 101 (Leiden, 1984).

L. Kákosy (pp. 72–75) translates the Coptic legend of a vision of Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, in which three sun-disks above a temple door are misinterpreted as three Greek *thetas* signifying Theus (“god”), Theodosius the emperor, and Theophilus himself. The vision serves as a pretext for stripping the temple of its miraculously revealed wealth and thus is a reflection of historical realities under Theodosius and Theophilus, who conspired to desecrate the famous Serapeum among other sacred sites.⁵ Combining theology with the folklore motif of finding ancient treasure, the story is a fascinating example of the conversion of history into legend.

In his fifth report on discoveries of Pyramid Texts from the ruined pyramid complex of Pepi I, J. Leclant provides a new exemplar, comparative synopsis, and detailed interpretation of the relatively rare spell 626 (pp. 76–88). Leclant’s idiosyncratic designations of columns and lines throughout these reports (in preference to the standard section numbers of Sethe) derive from genuine concerns for specificity but seem rather cumbersome;⁶ it is questionable whether they will attract many followers. Spell 626 is extremely terse, comprising only three seemingly unrelated sections. While the new exemplar reveals a modification from the first

to third person in a recarving of the opening phrase, it is only the latter two sections which have produced any real difficulty in translation,⁷ and these are poorly represented in the new fragments. Nevertheless, Leclant’s first synopsis of the differing versions is genuinely useful, and to him belongs the credit of recognizing one of the best versions from the pyramid of Neith.⁸ The second section of the spell announces: “The face of (this) NN is in/as the *mhn* of (this) Shesmu.” The difficulty here concerns the nuance of *mhn* and its affiliation with Shesmu, the ambivalent god of the wine press and butcherer of enemies. The root meaning of *mhn* is “coil” and is used of the guardian serpent of the solar boat, Mehen “The Coiled One,” and serves as the name of the Old Kingdom coiled serpent game. From the determinative which completes the name of the game , Leclant (following Ranke, Montet, and Vandier) has interpreted *mhn* as a type of primitive “trap,” comprising “a sort of cup and a flat part corresponding to a circuit rolled upon itself” (p. 83). From this assumption, Leclant has concluded that Spell 626 should describe the king’s face as crushed within the constriction of Shesmu’s press (p. 84), a rather odd statement considering the context. The true nature of the sign determining *mhn* was, however, already recognized by Quibell in 1913 as a schematic depiction of the round game board with a stand, *not a pit*,⁹ and while the *mhn*-serpent may ensnare enemies within its coils, it is also protective.¹⁰ Of more significance here, the Mehen serpent plays an active role in the underworld rebirth of the king who must pass through the body of the snake to be reborn, a

⁷ Cf. the tentative interpretation of R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford, 1969), p. 259.

⁸ Unrecognized and copied as a new “utterance 735” in idem, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts, Supplement of Hieroglyphic Texts* (Oxford, 1969), p. 80.

⁹ J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1911–1912): The Tomb of Hesy* (Cairo, 1913), p. 19 (reference courtesy of Peter Piccione).

¹⁰ For both hostile and protective nuances, see my article “A Uterine Amulet in the Oriental Institute Collection,” *JNES* 43 (1984): 219–20.

⁴ See now Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes* (Cambridge, 1986) and my review in *Cauda Pavonis* n.s. 8 (1989): 13–14.

⁵ See the overview in Ramsey MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire A.D. 100–400* (New Haven and London, 1984), pp. 99–100.

⁶ Cf. Leclant’s N/F/Nw/B 21–22 with Sethe’s N 157–58 (p. 78).

procedure enacted via the Mehen game.¹¹ This is the significance of PT §541a, where the resuscitated king is said to have “come forth (*pr*) from Mehen,” *not* “escaped” from Mehen (vs. Leclant, p. 83, following Sethe). Leclant is certainly correct in drawing attention to Pyramid Text spell §1866 a–b as a further, unrecognized attestation of the Mehen game,¹² and I would suggest that this text, in conjunction with the later Book of the Dead spell 172, may explain the enigmatic reference of PT 626:

Take to yourself these white ivory pieces (literally, “white teeth,” *ibḥ.w ḥd.w*) of yours belonging to the Mehen game. Go around them with/as an arrow in this their name of arrow (PT 1866 a–b).

Your ivory pieces (“teeth,” *ibḥ.w*) are the two pieces (“heads,” *tpy*) of the Mehen (game) with which the two Lords played (BD 172 §2).¹³

Despite certain lingering ambiguities, the “teeth,” “arrows,” “ivory,” and “heads” of these spells seem to indicate the gaming pieces of the Mehen board,¹⁴ and the “head” of PT 626 could be explained similarly: “The gaming piece of this NN is on the Mehen game board of this Shesmu.” As the gaming piece substitutes for the king himself in the circuit of the coils, one may equally translate “the face of this NN is on the game board . . .”; both nuances would be meant. The reason for Shesmu’s association with the game board remains to be determined, but the resulting translation yields a known procedure (the funerary play of the game), rather than an unexpected threat to the king (within the king’s own protective spells!).

Leclant’s new translation of the final section of Spell 626 appears definitive.

In the longest article of the volume (pp. 89–120), G. Mussies examines the literary sources and popular associations concerning the attempts to usurp for the Hebrew Moses the fame and achievements of the Egyptian Thoth (Hermes Trismegistus). Clearly enunciated in the writings of the Jewish Artapanus and Philo and echoed by the Christian Cyril of Alexandria, this little known “interpretatio Judaica” is carefully traced by Mussies, who notes as well the popular link between Moses and the Greek Musaeus, associate of Orpheus. One wishes, however, that the study were accompanied by a full translation of the central source, Artapanus as excerpted in Eusebius, *Preparatio Evangelica*, IX.27, 1–37, since the tale is full of curiosities. Thus the Pharaoh of Exodus is identified as “Chenephres,” probably *H^c-nfr-R^c*, Sobekhotep IV of Dynasty XIII, conforming to late Egyptian associations of the Hebrew exodus with the end of the Middle Kingdom and the Hyksos. One comparison between Thoth and Moses which Mussies rejects too quickly is the use by both of a magical staff (pp. 108–9). Relying on the outdated study of DeWaele,¹⁵ Mussies suggests that the snake staff carried by Thoth of Pnubs¹⁶ was due to Hellenistic influence, though it is rather a derivation from the native iconography of “Horus on the Crocodiles.”¹⁷ Elsewhere, Thoth uses his pen as a wand,¹⁸ and an association may have existed between his patronage of the word (*mdw*) and his known cult staff (*mdw*). For the broader questions of influence upon and by Thoth-

¹¹ A comprehensive study of the role of Mehen in gaming and funerary contexts is in preparation by Peter Piccione.

¹² Misunderstood by Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford, 1969), p. 271 as *m + ḥnw*, “in a bowl.”

¹³ E. Naville, *Das ägyptische Totenbuch* (Berlin, 1886), pl. 193, ll. 16–17. The nuance of “teeth” is most significant here in a list of divinized body parts, but the equation is predicated on gaming imagery.

¹⁴ Gaming pieces are often in the form of heads, and not infrequently are made of ivory “teeth” (= “tusks”; see *ibḥ*, “tooth/ivory,” in *Wb.* I, 64/4).

¹⁵ F. J. M. DeWaele, *The Magic Staff or Rod in Graeco-Roman Antiquity* (Ghent, 1927), p. 95.

¹⁶ H. Rosellini, *Monumenti dell’Egitto e della Nubia*, vol. 3, *Monumenti del culto* (Geneva, 1977) (reprint of Pisa, 1844), pl. 18 (no. 3) (Philae); A. Blackman, *The Temple of Dendûr* (Cairo, 1911), pp. 25 and 28–29 and pls. 42, 46, and 116 (no. 2).

¹⁷ See Blackman, *Temple*, pl. 116 (no. 2) where Thoth holds a staff with snake and scorpion. In the Philae example, Thoth is styled “the noble god who pacifies the fiery cobra in Bighē.” For the “Horus stelae” and their iconography, see L. K(ákosy), “Horusstele,” *LÄ*, vol. 3, cols. 60–62.

¹⁸ Cf. P. Jumilhac, XVI.

Hermes, see now the study of Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*.¹⁹

G. Posener's publication (pp. 121–26) of a terse note from a Deir el-Medineh worker to his mother may be an example of “popular piety” involving the renunciation of meat in fulfillment of a vow, but the context remains obscure, and a suggested parallel in Berlin fails to convince.

H. Te Velde's review of the association of the cat with the goddess Mut (pp. 127–37) provides an excellent overview of the complex of Cat/Lion deities and their relation to the myths of the solar eye.

J. Vergote (pp. 138–39) suggests a derivation of the Egyptian word *ḥrw.t*, “portal” from a reconstituted verb **ḥrr*, “to enter.” This verbal alchemy with hypothetical Proto-Semitic is not to everyone's taste, and the disagreements among practitioners (vs. Vycichl, p. 139) do not inspire confidence.

An exemplary index by G. Mussies completes the volume, with sections for text references grouped by language, modern authors, subjects, and Greek and Egyptian words. Minor translation or typographic errors include the omission of “Review of” before J. Henninger (p. 2), dittography of the reviews of Woldering and Desroches-Noblecourt (p. 5), *Papyrus I 384* for *Papyrus I 348* (p. 12), “basement” for “base” or “bark stand” (p. 30), and the Dutch “stelt” for “stilt” in the compound “stilt-walkers” (p. 104).

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¹⁹ See n. 4 above.

Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II. By PETER DER MANUELIAN. Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge 26. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1987. Pp. xx + 317. DM 59.

This work is an excellent example of a rational approach to historical evidence. Perhaps because it is exhaustive and restricted to the

reign of a single king, we gain a clearer picture of the many problems involved in historical research and how vague that evidence often can be. The author rightly presents cautious conclusions after sifting through a considerable mass of differing opinions which would not exist were the evidence itself not so inconclusive. Much that is taken for granted in studying the reign of Amenophis II is really no more than speculation. Manuelian has labeled such speculation for what it is.

The study begins with a long discussion (pp. 1–41) of the chronology of the period which immediately throws us into the realm of conjecture. The year that Amenophis II became king is the year his father Thutmosis III died, and this, according to various chronological theories, took place anywhere from 1461 to 1411 B.C. This is because the variables in the evidence far outweigh the facts (pp. 10–12); we simply do not have enough factual information. One basic issue now receiving much attention in the literature, for example, is the place in Egypt where Sothic sightings were made. Whether such sightings were made at Memphis or Elephantine—both are being proposed—means a difference of several years in the date of a given event. There is, at present, no convincing evidence in favor of either place and, until this matter is settled one way or the other, Egyptian chronology will remain uncertain. Manuelian's survey of the problem serves to emphasize what is often a fruitless debate which cannot be terminated on the basis of the facts we have now.

Chapter 2 (pp. 45–97) deals with the three campaigns mentioned in various texts of Amenophis II into Western Asia in his years 3, 7, and 9. Here again, modern analyses differ widely because of the obvious shortcomings of the source material. One crucial problem is that the campaigns of years 3 and 7 are both called “the first campaign of victory” and that our information about the campaign of year 3 is so scanty. This has led to varying interpretations of the latter: it belongs to the period of a coregency between Amenophis II and his father; we have only a summary of a fuller account that once existed; it was only an insignificant raid which deserved no fuller description; it never occurred at all. Manuelian concludes that

this campaign did take place "but may have been of minor significance" (p. 56).

Unlike this earlier campaign, against Takhshy in the Orontes Valley, where the record is so vague that even the route of the Egyptian army cannot be defined, records for the later two campaigns are more detailed. That of year 7 went up the Orontes Valley perhaps as far north as the region of Aleppo. In year 9, the king restricted his activities to south and central Palestine. All this depends, of course, on the precise identification of the Canaanite place-names involved, many of which remain questionable.

Supplementary evidence on these campaigns such as the Taanach letters is also considered. Again, there is a wide difference in the interpretation of these letters, primarily the identification of the writer, Amenhotpe, and the historical significance of these brief texts. Was this the king himself writing to the prince of Taanach or an Egyptian official? Do they really belong to the reign of Amenophis II? Manuelian's sensible conclusion is that the writer was certainly not a king and that the letters can be no more closely dated than "somewhere in the Eighteenth Dynasty" (p. 89). There is an unfortunate error in his discussion of these letters: they date to the Late Bronze not the Middle Bronze Age (pp. 84, 86).

When all the evidence on the historical events of the reign of Amenophis II is put together, there is surprisingly little that can be said with any degree of assurance. The same is true concerning the immediate family of this king (pp. 172-81). It is not easy to identify all his children on monuments which purport to mention them. Monuments naming the king's sons are often vague and some which supposedly name a son cannot be precisely dated. All this, of course, is important to the question of whether or not the following king, Thutmosis IV, was the Crown Prince or, as his Dream Stela suggests, farther down in line for the throne. It also bears on the question of whether or not there was a struggle within the royal family over the succession. These matters remain without definite answers.

Another aspect of this reign is the emphasis on the "sporting king" (pp. 191-213). Amenophis II boasts of his prowess in running, horsemanship, archery, and rowing, although the latter is more steering a boat than rowing it.

The history of royal participation in such activities prior to the reign of Amenophis II is summarized and Manuelian's conclusions seem sound enough. The real contribution of Amenophis II to royal athletics was in horsemanship, a skill at which he excelled. It is incorrect, as some have suggested, that these sporting activities have some mythological or ritual significance. The evidence is best taken at face value though there does appear to be a mixture of fact and exaggeration.

A most useful contribution of this work lies within the discussion of the Egyptian administration under Amenophis II (chap. 3). Manuelian gives a list of those officials known to have been active at this time at all levels of administration, with a selected bibliography on each. This list totals 135 government and other employees from Viziers and High Priests, through local district administrators, officials in government departments, the army, and mortuary temples, to artisans and others of lesser rank. Essays on several major officials who served Amenophis II complete the section on the personnel of his reign. These include the Vizier Amenemopet, the Viceroy of Kush Usersatet, and the Mayor of Thebes Sennefer.

Other features of this work are the author's translations of the pertinent royal documents (pp. 47-51, 222-29), a list of foreign place-names found in all documents of this reign, and documented references to the building activities sponsored by Amenophis II at home and abroad (Appendixes II and III). A bibliography and several indexes complete the work.

Manuelian has produced a solid reference work on the reign of Amenophis II. That the conclusions he draws are so often tentative or conjectural is due to the nature of the evidence available. Throughout, he carefully considers all opinions on a given problem, re-examines all the evidence, and shows that all too frequently scholars write as if vague allusions and very incomplete evidence produce "facts" to be taken seriously. In reality, none of the major problems of the reign of Amenophis II has a completely satisfactory solution at present. It

should serve to make us all somewhat more cautious in recreating Egyptian history, a side-effect of Manuelian's study which is not at all unwelcome.

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The First Historians: The Hebrew Bible and History. By BARUCH HALPERN. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988. Pp. xviii + 285. \$22.95.

After having read this book, one is left with the impression that the community of biblical scholars may be divided into two categories: on the one hand there are "the negative fundamentalists," who maintain that the biblical authors did not write history, and on the other hand there is the open minded group, which willingly admits the probability that the history writers actually intended to write history and not fiction.

The author of this book, Baruch Halpern of Toronto, is not blameless if this should turn out to be the final result of his study, since he has deliberately chosen a rather polemical tone, especially in the introductory chapters and in his conclusions. A heading such as "The Sorcerer's Apprentices: Wellhausen's Legacy" (pp. 26-29) alone suggests a certain tone which is not usual in scholarly discussion. Evidently, the author has tried to write in an elegant literary style, but this merely provides his argument with a literary touch, and I am certain that this is not what he intended.

These remarks should, however, not discourage the reader of this study, for the subject matter is indeed worthwhile. Halpern actually tries to demonstrate that the Hebrew history writers, and especially the original writer(s) of the Deuteronomistic History, wrote history, thereby revealing a pronounced "anti-quarian" interest and ability. They were not novelists concocting a purely fictional romance without any historical value. On the contrary, the Deuteronomistic History (and most of

Halpern's energy is actually devoted to this work alone) is certainly a history book which contains many valuable sources and historical insights and which always demonstrates the author's struggle with his source material in order to present his history of Israel as a true description of Israel's past. This does not mean that the Deuteronomistic History is not ideological or biased historical writing. According to Halpern, it is very much so, but it is Halpern's argument that the deuteronomist historian did in fact write a history book which, in principle, is not much different from what later historical writers in the Greek world, or even in the modern world (cf. Gibbon, Macaulay, and others), were doing. Any historian worth his salt has his reason for describing the past in a certain way, and there is no fundamental difference between the aims of the ancient world and those of the modern; obviously, only the means of controlling the material differ.

The evidence to support Halpern's claims is exclusively drawn from the Deuteronomistic History, starting with smaller literary entities such as the story of Ehud and Eglon in Judges 3 (which clearly enough was a folktale but which was rationalized by the deuteronomist historian to represent a *historical* narrative) and the description of the battle against the Canaanites in Judges 4-5 (where Judges 4 may be interpreted as a rationalistic endeavor to extract history from the poetic presentation of the battle in the Song of Deborah in Judges 5). After these short examples of deuteronomistic history writing, Halpern enlarges his argument by introducing more comprehensive corpora of text; first, the deuteronomistic editing of the history of the period of the Judges; second, the account of the reign of Solomon; and finally, the intricate description in 1 Sam. 8-12 of the introduction of monarchy in Israel.

Finally, the author summarizes his results in his conclusions and discusses topics of a more general character, such as the use of sources and the various codes (a word which is, however, not used by the author) used by the Hebrew historian to mold his description of the past. We would have expected, in this

section, a more general survey of the redactional problems of the Deuteronomistic History and of the dating of the original history. This discussion, however, is sandwiched between the chapters on Ehud and Debora on the one hand and the chapters dealing with the greater literary complexes on the other. It is Halpern's opinion that the original history was drafted during the reign of King Josiah in the late seventh century B.C. and that a revision (and distortion) of the original work took place during the exilic period. But his general idea is that in no way is the Deuteronomistic History a creation of the exilic period.

Let there be no doubt that the author has written a provocative and inspiring study which is never dull. In a very forceful way he has stated his argument, and he is obviously right when he states that his Hebrew history writer tried to write history and not just fiction. A strong point in favor of the argument of this book is that Halpern is not absolutely deaf to the possibility that the Israelite historians sometimes blurred the truth or even combined facts with inventions of their own. It does not detract from the argument when Halpern has to admit that a novel such as *1 Kings 13* is evidently a literary product of pure ideological implications. Rather, Halpern uses such examples to prove his point, namely, that the historians tried to present a reliable picture of the past.

That Halpern must be basically correct is proven by a couple of observations, which he could have stressed in a more pronounced way than he actually did. If the Israelite historian did not intend to write history but rather only intended to prove the validity of his own case through a novel, why then the diachronical perspective which permeates all Israelite history writing? There are many examples where the ancient Hebrew writers did not attempt to write history dealing with certain topics; one example where the setting is completely fictional is the Book of Job. It is also true, as admitted by Halpern, that a book such as Judges contains many stories which are certainly not historical sources in the proper sense of the word but rather folktales. However, the historical—or antiquarian—interest of the history writer is obvious, since he has

provided a chronological framework for these "folktales," thus turning them into history writing.

Turning to the period of the Hebrew Monarchy, it should be obvious to all that this is history writing in the proper sense of the word. In many instances it has been demonstrated by extra-biblical sources that kings of Judah and Israel really did exist once and were not just inventions of a storyteller. Furthermore, they are evidently placed at the right time and, except for a couple of occasions, dated to the earlier part of this period, in the right order. The chronological information found in Kings is generally reliable, and this to such a degree that—at least to me—it would have been an advantage for Halpern's argument if he had started with the chronology of the period of the Hebrew Monarchy. It does not detract from the historical value of the chronological listings that they are sometimes deficient or non-existent, quite the contrary. Such problems are invariably connected with periods of political instability, when revolutions bring down dynasties or kings succeeded each other after short intervals. Had the deuteronomist historian simply invented his chronology, we would expect it to be flawless. It seems clear that he actually did rely on existing annalistic sources which had, however, only survived these periods of crisis in fragmentary form, and that he used his source material to structure his description of the past.

But although Halpern's protest against a prevailing literary school of thought among Old Testament scholars is absolutely necessary today and although Halpern rightfully rehabilitates his Israelite historian, several issues of importance in this connection are either played down or deliberately left out. For example, although the Israelite history writers were governed by a desire to write history, this by no means turns their history into a concise and accurate description of what happened. Although Halpern seems to think they did, he nevertheless provides several examples indicating that the ancient historians were not able to control their source material in a way which may be compared to the analytic work of modern historians. Halpern may have been

captivated by his own correct observation that even so-called modern, neutral, or objective history writing is often ideological and biased and that, accordingly, historians of the modern world can deceive themselves. Halpern uses this insight to argue that the difference between the ancients and us is not as great as usually believed, but, in fact, he has not understood that this idea of historical research is a "leftover" from a past generation of historians and that—at least in some circles of professional historians—it is no longer considered valid. Halpern is not concerned about the objective of a group of historians such as the French *Annales* school, and, evidently, he does not favor its philosophical foundation. Here his polemical attitude prevents him from dealing properly with the study of pre-classical logic by notables such as Levy-Strauss. He does not seem to understand that his Israelite historian may have been governed not by an illogical or pre-logical mind but, rather, by a system of logic which was different from ours.

This is just one example of the criticism which can be raised about this book, and which might well have occupied far more space, but I shall leave that discussion to the future. What I wish to say is that Halpern has written a most useful and stimulating volume at exactly the right moment, but we hope he will not encourage his readers to make more rationalistic paraphrases of the biblical history writers' story. Over the last century we have seen enough of that. It is important to understand that the biblical historians tried to write history and also to acknowledge that this history was far removed from what actually happened and represents only a rather late interpretation of past history.

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The Lord Rose up from Seir: Studies in the History and Traditions of the Negev and Southern Judah. By LARS ERIC AXELSSON, Coniectanea Biblica Old Testament Series

25. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wicksell International, 1987. Pp. xiii + 208. SKr. 145.

The book is a doctoral dissertation written under T. Mettinger at the University of Lund. Inspired by M. Ottosson's monograph on Gilead, it represents a regional study of the history and traditions of southern Judah and the Negev. The latter term is defined in the modern Israeli sense to designate the region from the transition of the hill-country of Judah into the Valley of Beer-sheba down to the Gulf of Aqaba, including the territory from the Sinai peninsula to the Arabah. The work is subdivided into three parts: archaeology, textual traditions, and synthesis.

Part 1 is an archaeological survey of the Negev and southern Judah and a discussion of ancient road systems in the region. It concentrates almost exclusively on the results of excavated sites only and does not include an investigation of larger regional settlement patterns indicated by survey, nor an attempt to investigate the ramifications of variation in site size and location. The only non-excavated sites mentioned are those that have been equated with the towns listed in 1 Samuel 30 to whom David is said to have sent booty. The discussion of the so-called Negev fortresses does not include a full enumeration of all sites so classified; there is a random selection of sites from this classification for inclusion, roughly ordered from NE to SW. There is no systematic correlation of sites to water sources or road systems. All the discussion is a synthesis of other secondary discussions and summaries of site reports, instead of a re-investigation of relevant issues, combined with a personal evaluation of site reports.

Part 2, subdivided into six chapters, investigates the literary traditions associated with southern Judah and the Negev. Chapter 2 examines the traditions associating Yahweh's home with Teman/Seir/Paran. Axelsson dismisses the important study by M. Astour (*Fs Edel*, *ÅAT* 1 [1979], pp. 17–34) of the possible north Syrian geographical context of the reference to *t3 šsw yhw* in the Egyptian inscriptions at Soleb and W. Amarah, without any attempt at refutation or discussion of the points raised. Chapter 3 examines the southern genealogies in Genesis 36; 1 Chronicles 2, 4, and 35; the

settlement patterns of southern tribes and groups; and Judah's southern border. The goal is to examine material that might prove to be relevant to the issue of the origins and territories of the southern tribes. The Simeonite list in Josh. 19:2 is assigned to David's census, and the southern border is associated with the line of so-called border fortresses seen to have been built by Solomon.

Chapter 4 analyzes the patriarchal narratives of Abraham and Isaac and patriarchal religion. The discussion is built upon the traditional source divisions for J, E, JE, and P, without any justification for such adoption, even though the source hypothesis has undergone strong attack within the last ten years. Axelsson concludes that the Isaac traditions are older than those centering on Abraham. He believes that Isaac's place of origin was Beer lahai-roi and his original deity perhaps El ʿOlam, but that traditions about him were transferred to Beer-Sheba by the town's Simeonite founders. He suggests, without developed argumentation, that the Isaac traditions were subsequently transmitted to North Israel during the Davidic-Solomonic period by dispersed Simeonites and that Beer-sheba became a pilgrimage site for northerners in the period of the divided monarchy because of the postulated earlier introduction of the Isaac traditions into North Israelite tradition. His idea is nominally linked to the report of Simeon's dispersion in Genesis 34 and to the references to Beer-sheba and Isaac in the Book of Amos.

Abraham, by contrast, is assigned an indefinite place of origin in the Negev, a subsequent association with Hebron via Calebite elements, and an eventual assimilation into mainstream Judahite tradition after the fusion of Caleb with Judah. Axelsson concludes that Abraham was an original worshiper of Yahweh. He also proposes, without argumentation, that with the exception of Gen. 18:9–15, the promises to the patriarchs are redactional, added after 722 B.C., when the patriarchal traditions as a whole began to take form.

Chapter 5 examines the Kadesh traditions and their possible stages of growth, and the wilderness road systems, particularly the *derek yam-sûp* and the *derek har hāʾēmōrî*. Again,

all proposed site identifications are based on existing proposals, with no fresh re-investigation of the problems. Chapter 6 discusses the traditions concerning the Israelite conquest of Canaan from the south. There is no recognition of the important work of H. Cazelles (*VT* 24 [1974]: 235–38) and M. Mulhall ("Aaron and Moses, Their Relationship in the Oldest Sources of the Pentateuch" [Ph.D. diss., Catholic University, 1973]) about the presence of northern geographical terminology in the Amalekite war tradition in Exod. 17:8–16. Axelsson finds the destruction of Hormah to be the only ancient conquest tradition pertaining to the Negev. While noting that problems exist in harmonizing the biblical traditions about Hormah with the proposed site identification with Tel Ḥalif, he does not present the problems in detail, offer an alternative site, or attempt to reconstruct a growth of the textual tradition that might allow harmonization with the archaeological data.

Chapter 7, the final section of Part 2, deals with David's relation to the Negev and southern Judah. Axelsson argues for a need to distinguish between the tribe of Judah, which may have formed some sort of ethno-religious and militio-political, Yahweh-worshiping community centered around Bethlehem prior to Saul's rule, and the later, larger political unit, the House of Judah. He believes the latter was created by David by joining together at Hebron Judahite clans with southern Calebite, Kenizite, Othnielite, Simeonite, Kenite, and Jerahmeelite groups, all of whom shared a common worship of Yahweh. He suggests that David's going up to Hebron with his band of 400–600 men was more a question of a military coup than a triumphal procession, and that David established his position among the Calebites by marriage, and among the Simeonites, Othnielites, Jerahmeelites, and Kenites by distributing war booty.

Part 3, chapter 8, entitled "Synthesis and Implications," summarizes the earlier findings. In addition to the points already mentioned, Axelsson concludes that the origins of the southern settlers are to be sought outside the region, to the unspecified south or around the northern Arabah, with arrival through immigration. He

denies David any conscious or systematic attempt to include Canaanite parts of the southern populace by means of a syncretistic cult. Solomon is seen to be responsible for the building of Ziklag, Beer-sheba, and Tel Maḥata. The Isaac materials and Simeonite conquest traditions are postulated to have been preserved at Beer-sheba, while the conquest traditions of the Calebites and Othnielites, together with genealogies for the tribes that originated in Seir, are assigned preservation at Hebron. Finally, Axelsson proposes that the strong role of Kadesh in the desert traditions points toward a possible date of origin for the entire complex of southern traditions in the closing years of the kingdom of Judah, when Kadesh was an important site.

The present volume suffers from a number of weaknesses. The primary one is the author's failure to argue his points in detail. He rarely presents the reader with a discussion of the central and related issues. The footnotes are full of references to other possible interpretations, which are dismissed summarily without developed reasoning. The main thesis of the book, dealing with the dissemination of the Isaac traditions to the North via the dispersion of the tribe of Simeon, requires a detailed analysis of the pertinent passages in Amos and Hosea and related data, including an in-depth consideration of the wider political situation in ancient Syria-Canaan at the time of Jehoshaphat, to support such a novel postulate. None is even attempted.

Axelsson has adopted a number of standard hypotheses without questioning their accuracy or continuing viability in biblical scholarship: the source hypothesis, the "History of David's Rise" as an apologetical tract written during the United Monarchy, the invasion of Canaan by the Israelite tribes from the desert, the northern provenience of Deuteronomy, and the existence of a genuine record of the route taken by the Exodus group that lies behind the three alternate routes currently given for the wilderness wanderings. The printed text contains numerous typos, leaving the reader with the impression that it was never proofread. The translation into English from Swedish has yielded many non-idiomatic, awkward con-

structions. Given the consistent lack of argumentation, the incomplete and secondary nature of the archaeological presentation, the limited bibliography, and the unquestioning reliance on a number of questionable hypotheses, I find little to recommend in this volume.

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The Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages of Central Transjordan: The Baq'ah Valley Project, 1977-1981. By PATRICK E. MCGOVERN ET AL. University Museum Monograph 65. Philadelphia: University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, 1986. Pp. 365 + 104 figs. + 80 pls. + 8 maps + 51 tables + Arabic summary. \$95.

This volume presents the results of the excavation of three important burial caves in the Baq'ah Valley in central Transjordan. The full publication of the rich pottery assemblages, jewelry, seals, scarabs, and skeletal remains discovered in these burial chambers contributes to the general understanding of the burial customs of the period and expands our knowledge of the ceramic repertoire of Transjordan. The report goes beyond standard presentations of archaeological material, however, by laying out the results of a series of technical analyses by specialists in metallurgy, silicate technology, physical anthropology, faunal analysis, and malacology. In short, archaeological synthesis and materials analysis are wedded in one convenient volume.

A survey of the Baq'ah Valley yielded a number of settlement sites and numerous burial caves, many of which were already robbed. The key site dated to the Late Bronze Age/Iron Age in the Baq'ah was Umm ad-Danānīr, 2.5 ha in size, and terraced down the slope of Jebel al-Qeṣīr. A small probe at Umm ad-Danānīr produced layers dating from Late Bronze Age II, Late Iron/Persian, and Early Roman. At least two extensive cemeteries were located near the site. Not far from Umm ad-Danānīr was an isolated site, Rujm al-Ḥenū, consisting of a

large building with a roughly square plan, dating to the Late Bronze Age, and apparently similar in plan to the Amman Airport temple. Although the cemeteries had been heavily looted, several relatively undamaged tombs were discovered both in the survey transects and with the aid of a magnetometer.

The Late Bronze Age I tomb (Cave A2) had two chambers. Although a small number of later sherds (LB II and Late Roman) appeared in the uppermost layer, the lower layers of the tomb remained unmixed, and provided a good assemblage of LB I vessels, including examples of "chocolate on white" ware. A minimum of 22 individuals were interred in Cave A2, but the cave was not completely excavated. At least 44 complete pottery vessels were recovered in the excavations with the great majority of them dating to the earliest phase of LB I. In many cases, the skeletal material and the burial goods had been disturbed in antiquity, a common phenomenon in burial chambers with multiple successive burials. Thus, although stratigraphic control was exercised, mixing of LB I and LB II material in the upper levels confirmed ancient disturbance.

The Late Bronze Age II burial cave (Cave B3) contained no earlier or later material. Deposits at the rear of the cave had escaped disturbance by modern tomb robbers, and careful excavation of this area yielded skeletal material from at least 64 individuals. The remains of one of the individuals had been burned. As in Cave A2, successive and multiple interments resulted in a great disturbance of burials in antiquity, with some separation and clustering of crania and long bones. Although the exposure was rather limited, at least 222 whole or mostly complete vessels were recovered from this tomb, including a few examples of Mycenaean and Cypriote pottery to confirm the Late Bronze Age II date.

The third burial cave, Cave A4, dated to the early Iron Age. This cave was the most elaborate, for it was distinguished by a large forecourt hollowed out in bedrock in front of the tomb entrance. Multiple burial in Cave A4 followed a pattern similar to that of the earlier Late Bronze Age burials, with a minimum number of 233 individuals. A pottery collection of 70

whole vessels, jewelry, shells, seals, and numerous iron anklets or bracelets completed the tomb assemblage. Although many of the burials had been disturbed in antiquity, Cave A4 produced more articulated remains than the previous two tombs.

Several of the technological studies have produced some interesting results. Xeroradiography of vessels from LB I through Iron Age I showed that wheel-throwing techniques began to be replaced by hand-building coiling techniques during the LB I period. By LB II coil-built vessels were common, and this hand-building tradition continued into the Iron Age. The technique of xeroradiography allowed the specialists to determine that despite the presence of spiralforn "throwing" marks, usually interpreted as signs of fast-wheel production; pots were often coil built and subsequently thinned and shaped on a slow wheel or tournette. Pottery-forming technology for this region remained unchanged from the Late Bronze II through the Iron Age, although some changes in clay preparation and firing were observed.

The presence in Cave A4 of at least 11 complete pieces of iron jewelry and 40 fragments tripled the number of known iron artifacts for twelfth-century B.C. Palestine. Technological investigation of iron artifacts from this tomb showed that a majority of the artifacts were in fact carburized to the extent that they should be classified as steel. Whether this carburization was intentional or a result of the particulars of furnace design and smelting techniques in this early period is still open to debate, but this analysis makes a significant contribution from a well-dated context.

At the conclusion of this volume, McGovern provides a general synthesis of the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the early Iron Age, especially as that transition is evidenced on the Transjordanian plateau. He rightly stresses the importance of viewing the transformation in the Baq'ah as reflecting the collapse of the larger political and economic city-state system of Late Bronze Age Palestine. Recent surveys have demonstrated that the settlement shift to smaller, more numerous sites so well documented in the hill country of Cis-Jordan is

attested in Transjordan to almost the same degree. This volume represents a most thorough treatment of three large tomb groups from a crucial transitional period, and the authors are to be congratulated for extracting every possible bit of evidence to contribute to the archaeological record.

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Narrative Art and Poetry in the Books of Samuel: A Full Interpretation Based on Stylistic and Structural Analyses. Vol. 2 The Crossing Fates (I Sam. 13–31 & II Sam. 1). By J. P. FOKKELMAN. *Studia Semitica Neerlandica* 23. Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1986. Pp. xviii + 796.

For a description of Fokkelman's method and results, see the review in this journal¹ of the first volume of this projected four-volume series. One reviewer of that first volume saw the series as "a dreadful prospect"²—it is now well on its way to reality. Little has changed: the approach is explicitly limited to a purely literary analysis, and other approaches are the object of scorn and condemnation; virtually the only structure perceived is the multi-staged chiasmus (ABC . . . (X) . . . C'B'A'); the prose is described in poetic terms (cola, parallelism, rhyme, etc.).

There is in this second volume an introduction in which twelve levels of signification, from the "sound" to the "book or composition," are presented as the graduated stages through which literary analysis must proceed. It is claimed that going through each of these steps can keep the analyst from erroneous interpretations. It is true that adherence to these steps may keep one from hasty conclusions, but it also goes without saying that an erroneous interpretation can occur at any level and then color the rest of the analysis through to the end.

This volume makes as negative an impression as did the preceding one, for the same reasons as were stated in the previous review. To the broad criticisms voiced there can be added the following more specific ones, applicable to both volumes, though all cited examples are from vol. 2. (1) The linguistic and philological analysis is skimpy and sufficiently erroneous to make one dubious that the base on which the literary analyses are founded is adequate (cf., for example, the reference to the "present tense" on p. 113; the misunderstanding of the function of *w'ith* on p. 485;³ the multiple references to asseverative *kī* with transferral to *ʾāšer* on p. 501; the absence of a theoretical underpinning and of a specific defense for the prosodic analysis). In all fairness, it must be added that one person cannot be expected to know everything, and a literary critic could do far worse than Fokkelman in understanding the linguistic and philological basics. (2) Passages from form to meaning are ubiquitous and often dubious (for example, *hinnēh* is ascribed "shock" value on p. 59; fronting is said to give "concrete and practical support" [p. 115]; the hophal stem is said on p. 249, n. 5, to be "darker").⁴ (3) The writing style is prolix and emphatic (too many adjectives and adverbs, too few qualifiers regarding the author's interpretations). (4) This is essentially not a dialogue with other scholars, for these are rarely cited, but a virtual monologue—what claim does Fokkelman have to ask a reader to accept subjection to more than 700 pages of his subjective rambling? (5) The translation from the Danish original is in general grammatically correct but full of colloquialisms and incorrect idioms (for example, p. 66, a "demolishing criticism," presumably for a "devastating" one; there is a reference to a "female pronoun" on p. 233, n. 35; on p. 483 "Nabal put the kibosh" on something; on

³ Had the author known the use of the phrase *w'ith* to indicate the transition from the praesciptio to the body in epistolary style, he may have understood why that phrase comes immediately after the greetings in an oral message.

⁴ On this matter, see D. M. Gunn, *JSOT* 29 (1984): 112–13.

¹ *JNES* 47 (1988): 61–62.

² G. Hammond, *JSS* 28 (1983): 165.

p. 568, the hero is said to act from a "rather fishy" position). (6) There is no translation of the Hebrew texts themselves by which to ascertain exactly what all the purple prose is purporting to explicate. (Perhaps it is a sign of the author's hubris that he assumes his reader to have the same translation in mind as his own.) (7) There are no running heads to facilitate finding one's way to a given text. (8) The author frequently refers to texts in the books of Samuel by the "scene" and "act" numbers that he has assigned to them rather than by chapter and verse. (9) There is an uneasy standoff throughout between the narrator as creator and the narrator as historian (for example, on p. 187 he has the narrator make a decision to stop the narrative chain—what is the "chain" that he has to "stop"?; the speaker in the story and narrator are set in opposition on p. 411; we are reminded on p. 549 that the omission of a detail is a decision of the narrator—I interpret Fokkelman's need this far into the book yet to remind the reader of that basic literary fact as an indication that Fokkelman himself is still not so sure). On the positive side, much less is said in this volume about the historical reliability of the narrator, though one has the impression that this is because the author is feeling constrained by the method itself rather than by any personal loss of faith in the biblical text.

In a sense, all these factors blocking appreciation of the book are regrettable, for Fokkelman can have some interesting things to say about the texts he studies.⁵ But for literary criticism to be successful it must either be couched in standard scholarly prose (and be backed up by sound scholarship) so as to appeal to the scholar or at least itself be literarily pleasing so as to appeal to the literary mind (and, one can hope, to the less literarily inclined scholar, as well). Unfortunately, Fokkelman's criticism is neither. It is a chore to read because it is so wordy and a

painful chore at that because of the author's style and the translator's shortcomings.

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Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Jeremiah: Remnants of a Burnt Archive. By NAHMAN AVIGAD. Translated by R. GRAFMAN. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1986. Pp. 139.

Though obtained from antiquities dealers, the 255 bullae published here represent a fairly homogeneous group that the editor considers to have come from a single archive. That he is in general correct is indicated by the two principal forms of duplication found. (1) 211 of the impressions were made by only 168 different seals. (The other 44 are too fragmentary to permit a decision.) (2) There are several instances of two or more seals belonging to the same person. (Avigad is probably usually correct in so interpreting seals belonging to persons whose name and patronym are identical, for the seals often differed one from another in only minor respects.) In addition to these exterior indications of homogeneity, there are onomastic ones as well. (1) The names appear repeatedly here and in biblical and extra-biblical Hebrew sources and/or closely resemble names occurring in such sources. (2) The theophoric element is not only uniquely monotheistic (if one includes as such the usual acceptable substitutes, such as ²l), but the yahwistic theophoric element itself is invariable in form, i.e., yhw, both at the beginning of the name (relatively rare) and at the end. (The editor is probably correct in so indicating the theophoric element, though, to pick a nit, the -w is not always visible on the photographs.) Indeed, the only important epigraphic variation is in the scripts themselves, which vary considerably. Avigad argues that the variations are owing to scribal training, rather than to chronological or geographical factors, and concludes that the archive must date to ca. 600 B.C. and come from the area of

⁵ See some of the more approbatory reviews of vol. 1, for example, Y. Zakovitch, *JBL* 102 (1983): 460–62; F. Langlamet, *Revue biblique* 90 (1983): 100–48; or M. Fishbane, *JAOS* 104 (1984): 375–76.

Jerusalem. One primary factor in this dating is his identification of *brkyhw bn nryhw hspw* "Berekyahu, son of Neriah, the scribe" with the amanuensis of Jeremiah the prophet who is presented in the Bible as bearing the name "Baruch." Though highly plausible, this identification must remain in doubt until it is proven that such variations occur in a given proper name. As for the variations in script forms, they may well represent some geographical variations for it is not, of course, necessary that all the documents in the archive originated in one place. On the other hand, there cannot be more than a generation's chronological variation between the seals, assuming that each person was using his own seal. A relatively large range can be produced, however, by age variation between seal owners and makers (one would expect a seal owned by an eighty-year old man made sixty years ago by an eighty-year old artisan to be considerably more archaic than one made last week by a twenty-year old artisan for a twenty-year old owner) while these absolute chronological differences can be compounded by conservatism vs. innovation in the scribal traditions in which the artisans are trained. However all this may be, to the extent that Avigad's hypothesis is accepted, this corpus will provide a laboratory for the study of graphic variation within narrow chronological bounds.

Two variations that appear in the text of seals apparently belonging to a same person may be mentioned, more as confirmations of generally accepted theories than as providing a basis for new ones. (1) It has been universally assumed that the absence of *bn* "son" between the proper names is meaningless in that seals inscribed "*X bn Y*" and "*X Y*" both mean "*X son of Y*," but to my knowledge this was not proven empirically by different seals belonging to a given person. That ultimate proof is now provided. "*Doml^byahu ben Hawša'yahu*" owned seals with and without *bn* (nos. 43–46) as did "*Y^hho'ah ben Eli'az*" (nos. 71–73) and "*P^lat^yyahu ben Hawša'yahu*" (nos. 143–48). (2) One could also have argued that orthographic variations represented true differences of pronunciation, consonantal and

vocalic—until the appearance of different seals belonging to the same person with different orthographies: the patronym in "*Ga'ali ben Eli^ssamak*" is spelled both with and without *y* (*lsmk* and *lysmk*; nos. 39–40) as was that of the same "*Y^hho'ah ben Eli'az*" who had seals with and without *bn* (*l'z* and *ly'z*; nos. 71–73). It can now be said with a higher degree of certainty that the *y* in such names is truly a *mater lectionis*.

A few critical remarks follow. (1) A photograph is provided for each of the bullae, but because of the difficulty of photographing concave surfaces the photographs are rarely totally readable. (2) Though a hand copy often accompanies the photograph, many times it is omitted—and there is no apparent reason for the omissions; indeed, the copy is often missing where one would like most to see it, when the bulla is damaged and the photograph particularly unreadable. (3) One correction in the transcription of the seal inscriptions: the word *bn* in [*ly*]*š'yhw b[n']lšdq* (no. 84) is omitted on p. 67. (4) One must use the restorations critically: in the title of each section and in the transcription of the inscription the author felt constrained to provide a complete name even where several restorations are possible. The worst case is perhaps no. 136, entitled "*Azaryahu son of Samakh*," though only the *s* of the patronym is extant. The author does mention in his notes the other possibilities but it might have been better not to indicate a single restoration in the title and transcription. In any case, anyone who wishes to do statistical or prosopographic studies including these data should be careful to omit those names that are produced by arbitrary restoration. (5) Finally, the translator seems not to be aware of important differences between Biblical and Modern Hebrew: on p. 66 the verbal form that denotes perfective aspect is referred to as a "past tense."

Though representing what must be termed a minor genre in literary terms, in epigraphic terms Northwest Semitic seals assume a great importance, largely because of the paucity of the more important documents which have for the most part disappeared because inscribed on perishable materials. The author is to be

congratulated for providing such a clear and useful *editio princeps* of this important new corpus.

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Literarkritik und Grammatik: Untersuchung der Wiederholungen und Spannungen in 1 Kön 11–12. By GOTTFRIED VANONI. Münchener Universitätschriften, Kath.-Theol. Fakultät: Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament, vol. 21. St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1984. Pp. 316. DM 39.

Tor der Gerechtigkeit: Eine literaturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung der sogenannten Einzugsliturgien im AT: Ps 15; 24, 3–5 und Jes 33, 14–16. By SIGURDUR ÖRN STEINGRIMSSON. Münchener Universitätschriften, Kath.-Theol. Fakultät: Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament, vol. 22. St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1984. Pp. xiv + 188. DM 32.

The series *Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament*, directed by W. Richter, continues to be as productive as ever: as of this writing, nearly thirty volumes have appeared over the course of a decade. The series is an interesting mixture of innovation and imitation, with the innovation coming from seeking new areas of linguistic science which can be applied to biblical study (for example, H. Schweizer's *Metaphorische Grammatik*, reviewed here in vol. 46 [1987]: 156–57) and the imitation coming from following Richter's own methods of analysis. The use of Richter's grammatical categories is defensible and can lead to good results, for those categories are generally good. What is distracting is the forest of Richtertian abbreviations, including the use of numbers for syntactic categories ("1. Sy." = subject, etc.),¹ and the transcrip-

tion system which is both quasi-historical and descriptively idiosyncratic.² These features have by now become the jargon of this school, and one must simply decide whether the pains of living with the jargon are outweighed by

² See Richter's grammar mentioned above and his more recent volume *Transliteration und Transkription: Object- und metasprachliche Metazeichensysteme zur Wiedergabe hebräischer Texte*, ATSAT 19 (1983) (not reviewed in these pages) in which he pleads for a transcription system that reflects structure rather than external form (*Aussprache*). The theoretical basis for rejecting *Aussprache* is the notion that the Masoretic vocalization does not reflect "living Hebrew," that it "leads in no way to a living speech tradition," that it is "a reactivated dead language," and that it "was built in opposition to living languages (the Aramaic dialects)" (ibid. p. 8). How this outmoded Kahle-ism (see *JNES* 42 [1983]: 237–38) can still be professed today when both the imitation of Biblical Hebrew and the emergence of "Mishnaic Hebrew" in the period from ca. 200 B.C. to well into the second century A.D. are proven by the "Dead Sea Scrolls" is beyond me. There is an increasing body of evidence that Hebrew was never lost as a living language before the work of the Masoretes. Hebrew changed considerably, of course, especially in syntax, and there were certainly several dialects of Hebrew in all periods. Tiberian Hebrew phonology may represent only one dialect, therefore, and one that has certainly experienced various interferences from the later dialects of Hebrew and of Aramaic, but the handing-down was almost certainly without a significant break. It is extremely difficult to say just what stage of the development Masoretic Hebrew reflects (cf. J. Hughes, *Journal of Semitic Studies* 27 [1982]: 192), but the "(re)building" of Biblical Hebrew by the Masoretes can only be described as a modern fiction that is taking too long to die.

I have no quarrel with Richter's attempt to reconstruct the vocalic system that must have preceded the Masoretic one (indeed, I teach an even earlier form of the system as an integral part of learning Masoretic Hebrew), but since his highly systematized transcription probably reflects reality no better than the Masoretic one, why attempt to convert Old Testament scholarship to his "(re)built" system? I can see the usefulness of the systematization in a grammar (Gesenius used *qatl*, *qitl*, *qutl*) but not in literary analysis. One assumes that literary critics know the grammar, and in literary studies the grammatical phenomena that are the basis of the Richtertian analytical system can be alluded to as meaningfully in transliteration as in transcription. The need to express all forms of analysis in a systematized transcription may betray an unrealistic desire to organize complicated data—a laudable intention turned into a crusade: the rigid

¹ I have already registered this complaint: see review of T. Seidl, *Tora für den »Aussatz«-Fall*, in *JNES* 47 (1988): 286–87. Woe betide the reader who picks up one of these volumes without having read Richter's grammar first, for the numbered syntagmas are not indicated in Vanoni's list of abbreviations.

the quality of the work expressed by the jargon. In general, the investment in time and effort is worthwhile; it can in any case be said that, though few will be prepared to expend the time and energy necessary to study in detail every work in the series, the quality of each of the works is such that someone doing research on a particular area covered by one of these volumes simply cannot overlook that ATSAT contribution.

The first volume under review here is placed resolutely (see pp. 11–13) in the first of the two categories mentioned above, that of imitation. It uses the grammatical categories of Richter's *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik* (reviewed here in vols. 42 [1983]: 235–36; 45 [1986]: 69–70) in describing repetitions (*Wiederholungen*) and tensions (*Spannungen*) in the text under analysis. Such an analysis permits a division of the text into the various strata of which it was composed: this is the *Literarkritik* of the title. It should be clear from this description that this “literary criticism” is, as is common in biblical studies, source analysis rather than a study of literary form or of artistic quality, the more frequent usages of the phrase in other disciplines.

Vanoni believes that, on the basis of repetitions and tensions in 1 Kings 11–12 (+13: 1–2, 33–34), he can isolate four primary strata as well as various additions (*Zusätze*) to a given stratum. These strata are set out clearly on pp. 47–55, with the strata indicated by brackets in the right margin which have one or more vertical bars according to the number of the stratum (“Z” in this chart means *Zusatz* [see p. 19] and “R” apparently means *redaktioneller Zusatz* [see p. 266]). The argumentation is detailed and, within limits, convincing. What is missing is an attempt to make sense of the final text, to explain how each strand came to be fitted into the final work and the meaning which the final redactor intended for it to have there. (Apparently the author believes that such a final analysis would be possible only

after completion of a similar study of the Septuagint version.)

Two examples of Vanoni's argumentation may be given here in order to make clear why I above used the phrase “within limits” with regard to the convincingness of the argumentation. First, Vanoni's first example of a syntactic tension (*Spannungen* . . . *Syntaktische Brüche*): *w^aet-bat-par'ōh* in 1 Kings 11:4 (pp. 87–88). He discusses the various translational analyses of the conjunction, the two possible functions of the following particle (as definite direct object marker and as preposition) and the various possible translations of the particle if taken as a preposition, and the various ways in which the entire phrase may be understood as relating to the preceding and following phrases. He concludes that all possible analyses have extremely few, if any, parallels and that this clause must therefore be secondary and probably a gloss. He admits that we cannot be totally sure about the secondary nature of the phrase but does not indicate the reason for this concession, only saying that the uncertainty is not tragic. It appears to me that the uncertainty comes from our being unable to say at what point the “*Zusatz*” was added; it is essentially what we would call a parenthetical phrase, and such a remark could have been added to any one of the versions of the story from the first to the last. So the semantic and syntactic remarks were useful in pinning down the parenthetical nature of the phrase but not in determining its origin.

The second example comes from the subsection of *Spannungen* called *Inhaltliche Widersprüche* (“sense disagreements”): *w^akēn 'āsāh l^akol-nāšāyw* in 1 Kings 11:8 (pp. 124–25). The problem here is that in the preceding verse *bānāh* “to build” is used with the preposition *l^a* to denote “building (sanctuaries) for (deities)” and here the adverb *kēn* should denote a like meaning, but in fact it introduces the phrase “do for (the benefit of wives).” Never elsewhere in Genesis-Kings, according to Vanoni, does one find such a discrepancy between two entities linked by *kēn 'āsāh l^a*. Here he voices no doubt as to the secondary nature of all of v. 8. One may criticize this conclusion on two levels. (1) Vanoni makes no

application of the grammatical analysis to literary analysis, which I describe below as leading to some excesses, is certainly not unrelated to the rigid systematization of the text through a transcription system.

attempt to explain why the addition was not joined more smoothly to v. 7. Such an explanation would call for a general theory of redaction, which he does not provide. That theory would have to explain why a redactor bringing together various strata of a story permitted logical and syntactic discontinuities that the author of a unified piece of prose would not permit. (2) One wonders if the different nuances of *l'* in the two phrases would have been sensed as a true *Widerspruch* by a listener of the time: would the difference have been any greater than between "he built sanctuaries *for* X-deities" and "thus he did *for* all his wives" in English? If the difference was not sensed as a discord, the "tension" could have been present in any form of the story (it would have amounted to no more than a pun on two nuances of the preposition *l'*), and the secondary nature of v. 8 is unproven. This second criticism implies, of course, that one must admit as acceptable utterances some sequences that happen not to be attested in the extant corpus of Biblical Hebrew—and the lack of native informants leaves us with no further means of verifying acceptability. This removes us from the seemingly solid ground of empiricism on which Vanoni takes his stand and puts us adrift on the moving waters of subjectivity. I would not be the first to argue, however (far from it!), that the corpus of Biblical Hebrew is too small to provide a definitive basis for decisions on what was or was not said in the various speech communities that contributed to the collection we call the Bible. In the present case, I admit to believing that a speaker of Hebrew in ca. 600 B.C. would have found no more of a *Widerspruch* between 1 Kings 11:7 and 8 than does a reader of an English translation of those two verses that uses "for" in each.

It appears to me, on the basis of these two examples, that Vanoni's method is unimpeachable as far as it goes but that the refusal to allow common sense and a general consideration of how language works to temper the strict grammatical analysis means that each of the conclusions must be re-examined by the student of these chapters. Furthermore, the refusal to allow artistic appreciation to play a

role in the detailed analysis or to lead to an assessment of the passage as a literary whole means that the literary criticism in the general sense of the term remains to be done. At some point, a theory of redaction, one that will be informed by the study of text-adaptation in living literatures, will have to be devised by or for the practitioners of this method in order to give it respectability. It now looks very much like old-fashioned, rationalistic text criticism dressed in a new garb.

Vanoni is to be congratulated for his rigorous source analysis of the target text. It is to be hoped that the complementary literary analysis will follow soon.

* * *

Steingrímsson's work on the "entrance liturgies" of the Old Testament is closer to old-fashioned *Formgeschichte* in modern garb. Instead of devoting the entire work to source criticism, as was the case with the work just discussed, Steingrímsson gets that aspect of the study out of the way immediately and goes on to things he considers more important: a grammatical and semantic parsing according to Richter's categories and an analysis of the communication-situation (place, time, social situation, speaker. . .). This format is followed for each of the three texts mentioned in the title, and then the results are compared. Ps. 15 represents three principal strata of a work the kernel of which goes back to the time of Josiah's reform; it records an entrance test (*Prüfung*) for Israelites and proselytes wishing to worship on the temple mount in Jerusalem. Ps. 24:3-5 is literarily dependent on Ps. 15 and describes an entrance test. Isa. 33:14-16 is also dependent on Ps. 15 but is part of a prophetic speech.

Though this work is, because of the limited amount of text studied (little effort is given to an evaluation of Ps. 24 and of Isa. 33 as complete works), in its own way as incomplete a work as Vanoni's, and though no attempt at literary evaluation is made, there is at least an attempt, in the case of Ps. 15, to describe the function of a work made up of several strands. It verges on the perverse, then, that I should complain that the source criticism is done inadequately, but so I must do: only three

pages (pp. 4–6) are devoted to proving that Ps. 15 is made up of three distinct strata. This is decided on the basis of various “tensions” and “doublets,” none of which makes any sense to me. For example, vs. 3 is said to be a *Doppelung* of vv. 1–2 because it is negatively (rather than positively) and individually (rather than generally) expressed; it is therefore said to be by a different “hand” from that of vv. 1–2. These features of negativity and individuality continue, except in v. 4a, through to the middle of v. 5, where one finds again a positive, general formulation (𐤊𐤍 𐤌𐤁). *Ergo*, the original kernel was vv. 1–2, 5b, while the rest was added later. This is all presented briefly and apodictically—even proudly: in n. 16 on p. 6, one finds a long list of scholars who have not found this segmentation of the text. I find the argument logically, linguistically, and literarily without basis, but it at least follows a long tradition of text-segmentation in German (-language) Old Testament criticism. What is more alarming, however, is that Steingrímsson shows no awareness (1) that the texts he is studying are poetic, and (2) that a considerable amount of work has been done, especially in the past decade and especially in English, on how Biblical Hebrew poetry was structured.³ I venture to say that few of the scholars who have worked on Biblical Hebrew poetics in recent years would consider Steingrímsson’s arguments as they stand to have much weight.⁴ But the division set forth on pp. 4–6 is the basis for many of the arguments in the following pages on Ps. 15 and in the summary sections at the end of the book.

Space considerations preclude a full discussion of other problems that arise in the reading of this work. Perhaps a listing of some of the more important ones will show that this work has not convinced me either of the

solidity of its conceptual foundations or of the validity of many of the individual arguments.

1. Much of the grammatical analysis is nothing more than a parsing of the text and does not contribute more because of its Richterian form than would another parsing.

2. The semantic analyses could be more useful than the grammatical ones, but these are often also only parsings without specific contributions to the understanding of the structure of the text. Where they are absolutely necessary, they are not carried out in such a way as to convince: one of the linchpins of the argument is that the verb form *yāgûr* in Ps. 15:1 (and in Isa. 33:14) denotes that a proselyte (*gēr*) is being tested. In this case, an appendix is provided on the root *gwr* (pp. 145–46). But nowhere does the author undertake to prove that the verb form, especially in poetry and in parallel with *škn*,⁵ must signify that it is a person with the social status of *gēr* who is the object of the query.

3. If I understand him correctly, Steingrímsson holds that the test (*Prüfung*) in Ps. 15 is both a real-life, in-or-out test, on the basis of which Israelites and proselyte were admitted to or excluded from the temple mount (see esp. pp. 23–24, 30–31, 62–63, 132–33, 157), and a liturgical event. No dictionary that I have consulted would allow the inclusion of the testing as just described under the rubric “liturgy,” which denotes various formal aspects of public worship. Moreover, I find it very difficult to believe that such a testing ever went on; even more difficult to believe that a real-life test could consist of the words recorded in Ps. 15:1–2, 5b. It appears to me much more plausible that the term not used until p. 125 (and there applied to Isa. 33:14), viz., rhetorical, as in “rhetorical question” is the proper term for the questions in all three of the texts studied and that all three texts were didactic in nature. As didactic texts, all three could be “liturgical,” i.e., used as part of formal worship.

³ See my review in these pages (vol. 42 [1983]: 298–301) of M. O’Connor’s *Hebrew Verse Structure* (Winona Lake, 1980) and the bibliographical data in my *Ugaritic and Hebrew Poetic Parallelism*, Supplements to *Vetus Testamentum* 39 (Leiden, 1988).

⁴ This is not meant to imply that the problem of how to distinguish strata with poetic works is not a real one, simply that Steingrímsson does not address the poetic nature of the works.

⁵ Here an awareness of J. Kugel’s strictures on exegeting poetic parallelisms would have been invaluable (*The Idea of Biblical Poetry* [New Haven, 1981]).

4. I was not convinced by Steingrímsson's argument (or lack thereof) that *lnw* in Isa. 33:14b must refer to the sinners of the first part of that verse (see pp. 106, 111).

5. The syndetic structure of Ps. 15:3 is supposed to show that that verse was a *written* addition to vv. 1–2 (p. 124). I know of no basis for such an assertion.

A page of errata is included with the book but at least as many more went undetected.

One must conclude that this is not one of the best works produced by the Richterian method.

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Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām's K. al-nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh (MS. Istanbul, Topkapı, Ahmet III A 143). Edited with a commentary by JOHN BURTON. E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, New Series, vol. 3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. Pp. 192 + 116 (Arabic text).

Abū ʿUbayd's *Book of the Abrogating and the Abrogated* (*al-nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh*), edited here for the first time, is the earliest independent treatise known to exist on the subject of *naskh*, the abrogation and replacement of ritual and legal rules in the Qurʾān and the sunna. Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838) wrote about a century before the date of the oldest previously available book on the subject, which is attributed to Muḥammad b. Ḥazm. More importantly, Abū ʿUbayd's treatise is not influenced by al-Shāfiʿī, his contemporary, who treated the subject of *naskh* in his pivotal *Risāla* on legal methodology. The treatise confirms that Abū ʿUbayd was an independent *ḥadīth* scholar closer to the Kūfan traditionist school of Sufyān al-Thawrī than to the Medinan tradition to which al-Shāfiʿī belonged. Later claims that he was a follower of the latter are baseless. While Abū ʿUbayd's book is early, it is not the earliest on the subject. Names of earlier scholars who wrote treatises on *naskh* are mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm and others.

Abū ʿUbayd does not refer to any of them, but from his treatment it is quite evident that the subject was widely discussed before his time. His high reputation as a *ḥadīth* scholar and the clarity of his presentation may have contributed to the loss of the earlier literature.

The edition, based on the only known manuscript, is generally careful and sound. The manuscript is evidently not free of corruptions. Some emendations have been adopted in the text; others are suggested in the annotation. At least one folio is lost in Abū ʿUbayd's introduction. In the edited text, fol. 161a, the Ibn Sirīn *ḥadīth* mentioned in the editor's commentary (p. 143), seems to have been dropped inadvertently. A few corrections and emendations may be proposed here; p. 27, l. 15, *baynanā* read *baynahumā*; p. 30, l. 2, *Arīkhā*: *Arīhā*; p. 48, l. 1, *mutʿat al-nisāʾ* is no doubt a mistake for *mutʿat al-ḥajj*; p. 59, l. 13, *māl al-nās*: *mā li l-nās*; p. 61, l. 5, *sh-y-t*: *shaʿabat*; p. 66, l. 20, *duwayrah*: *duwayrat*; p. 66, l. 27, *al-t-f-th*: *al-nafīth*; p. 76, l. 13, *li l-imām yukhayyar*: *al-imām mukhayyar*; p. 87, l. 17, *nasakhathu*: perhaps *nasakhathumā*; p. 99, l. 14, *ahwaʾakum*: *ahwaʾukum*.

In his introductory essay, Burton offers an analysis of the development of the theory of *naskh*. He argues that the concept of abrogation (*naskh*) arose among the *uṣūlīs* (experts on legal methodology) who attempted to justify the legal doctrine of the *fuqahāʾ* (scholars of the law) in the face of conflicting rules provided by the Qurʾān and the sunna. Finding that the *fuqahāʾ* had adopted some rules while rejecting conflicting ones, the *uṣūlīs* "assumed appeal by the *fuqahāʾ* to a principle of repeal, or abrogation" (p. 3). The theory thus served "the dual function of explaining both the conflicts between the regional views of the *Fiqh* (Law) and its sources, and the conflict between the universally agreed *Fiqh* conclusions and the contents of the Qurʾān" (p. 41). The *uṣūlīs* took the term *naskh* from sūra 2:106: "Whatever verse We (= God) abolish (*nansakh*) or cause to be forgotten, We bring one better than it or one like it," and used it to sanction their theory. Since the Qurʾānic passages considered abrogated in the Law nevertheless were retained in the text of the Qurʾān, the *uṣūlīs* invented the formula

naskh al-ḥukm dūn al-tilāwa, abrogation of the ruling but not of the recitation. The theory of *naskh* thus did not arise from the Qurʾān, but from the speculation of the *uṣūlīs*; and from the outset it was applied equally to the Qurʾān and the sunna, the two sources of the Law. On this basis Burton rejects the "hasty assumption" of Nöldeke and Schwally that the theory of *naskh* had originated in the exegesis of the Qurʾān (p. 3). Rather, he affirms, "Qurʾān vocabulary and usage do not support the meaning attached to *naskh* in the *uṣūl*" (p. 41).

This analysis is open to question in various respects. The science of *uṣūl al-fiqh* is usually considered to have been founded only by al-Shāfiʿī. Burton himself calls it a "tertiary science" (p. 5), i.e., posterior to both the exegesis of the Qurʾān and the *fiqh* based upon it. Yet he describes the concept of *naskh al-ḥukm dūn al-tilāwa*, although "originating in the field of *uṣūl*," as having had "a long history behind itself" by the time of al-Shāfiʿī (p. 41). Burton does not explain whom he means by the pre-Shāfiʿī *uṣūlīs*. He describes Abū ʿUbayd, clearly with some justification, as an *uṣūlī*. He notes that the "attitude" of *naskh* is present already in the *Muwattaʾ* of Mālik (p. 6), but can the latter be considered an *uṣūlī*? The concept of *naskh al-ḥukm dūn al-tilāwa* is also underlying the exegesis of sūra 2:106 ascribed to Ibn al-ʿAbbās and Mujāhid (pp. 10–11). Burton presumably considers this ascription as fictitious; yet the fact remains that even the most primitive and presumably earliest extant exegesis of the verse already reflects, according to Burton's interpretation, the tertiary speculation of the *uṣūlīs*.

Burton argues that *nansakh* in sūra 2:106 cannot mean replacement or supersession, as the *uṣūlī* interpretation asserts, since this meaning is expressed in the second part of the verse and "to promise to replace what one has replaced" would be tautological (p. 16). But this argument disregards the fact that the second "replacement" is qualified by the addition "with something better or something like it." "Whatever verse We replace, We replace it with a better one or one like it," is a good sentence in both Arabic and English. More

valid is the argument that *naskh* basically means suppression and removal and that it is used in this sense in sūra 22: 52: "God will suppress (*yansakhu*) what Satan throws in." But the concept of suppression is surely not "quite unrelated" (p. 9) to that of supersession, rather supersession implies partial suppression. Even if one insists on a literal translation of sūra 2:106, "Whatever verse We suppress," the "*uṣūlī* interpretation" does not become unreasonable. The language of the Qurʾān is so loose and elliptical that the assumption that *āya* (verse) stands in fact for *ḥukm al-āya*, the legal effect of the verse, is hardly farfetched.

Thus nothing seems to speak against the presumption that Qurʾān 2:106 was always, even in the time of Muḥammad, understood as referring to the abrogation of Qurʾānic legislation. The *fuqahāʾ* made use of the principle and extended it to the sunna as it became a recognized source of the law. The *uṣūlīs* conceptualized it in the formula *naskh al-ḥukm dūn al-tilāwa* and invented further categories, *naskh al-ḥukm wa l-tilāwa* and *naskh al-tilāwa dūn al-ḥukm*.

Burton's analysis here and elsewhere in his introduction and commentary on the text rests on an excessively negative view of the historical basis of Muslim exegesis of the Qurʾān in general. He argues that the reports purporting to describe the sunna were directly exegetical in origin, arising from an early layer of exegesis. "That becomes apparent," he suggests, "if we refuse superficially to accept the resultant *ḥadīths* as 'historically true' documents for the Prophetic age, preferring to subject them to the same meticulous analysis and dissection to which the Muslims had subjected the Qurʾānic texts" (p. 32). Such a methodology obviously feeds upon itself. If the historicity of all reports is rejected a priori, it is always easy to find an exegetical motive for their invention, which then justifies the rejection. Yet the assumption that Qurʾānic exegesis started with a total blank in regard to the historical circumstances of the revelation is hardly plausible. Critical examination of the early exegesis gathered by al-Ṭabarī will certainly reveal many cases where these circumstances had been forgotten and where the

exegesis consists in pure, and often poor, conjecture and fiction. Yet there are also many instances where the exegesis proves invaluable for the understanding of the Qurʾān and is evidently based on sound historical information. Reports are not necessarily fictitious merely because they arise out of exegesis or because they are formulated to answer exegetical questions. The historian must approach the exegetical tradition with a critical, yet open, mind, not with a prior conviction that it is all "mere exegetical guesswork."

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Woven from the Soul, Spun from the Heart: Textile Arts of Safavid and Qajar Iran 16th–19th Centuries. Edited by CAROL BIER. Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum, 1987. Pp. xvi + 336. \$60 (cloth), \$39.50 (paperback).

"Woven from the Soul, Spun from the Heart" must have been a stunning exhibition. The exhibition catalogue with the same name, edited by Carol Bier, Curator of Eastern Hemisphere Collections at the Textile Museum, is itself a splendid achievement.

As expected now in textile publications, there is a detailed technical analysis of each piece (all illustrated in good photos, many in color) on such things as direction of spin (S or Z), pile count, etc. But this volume is much more. Almost half is taken up by a number of essays incorporating recent research in the fields of social and economic history, anthropology, and art history. Willem Floor's essay, "Economy and Society: Fibers, Fabrics, Factories," provides a tremendous amount of information on the various qualities and products made of silk, cotton, and wool, especially in the Qajar period (1799–1924). On p. 27, he remarks on the avoidance of using goat hair and wool in the same carpet. He points out that by the 1840s imports of European goods had severely damaged the Iranian domestic textile industry and that by the late nineteenth century, carpet weaving had become the most important textile craft

in Iran, with much of the production being exported. Leonard Helfgott has further details on the Persian carpet industry.

Mary Martin in her contribution, "City and Country: Rural Textile Production in North-eastern Iran," presents information on textile production in a rural (as opposed to a nomadic) environment, with observations on the quite recent past. Jennifer Scarce has a most interesting chapter, "Vesture and Dress: Fashion, Function, and Impact," well illustrated by reproductions of a number of paintings.

The famous Pazyryk carpet is discussed on p. 120. While the date is uncertain, one should see the discussion by Judith Lerner in her forthcoming article in *Source*.

Linda Steinmann discusses sericulture and silk under Shah Abbas, and points out that until the late sixteenth century, the silk producing areas of the Caspian were not under the control of the central authority of the Iranian state. Shah Abbas I was able to bring the silk production and trade under royal control with his conquest of the area in 1698–99. The author details the role of Armenians in the lucrative international silk trade.

In connection with silk, I should mention that at approximately the same time as the exhibition at the Textile Museum, an exhibition of Persian silk was held in Leipzig showing many Persian silks (principally Safavid) from collections in the former German Democratic Republic. The text of the accompanying catalogue is the work of a single scholar (the co-author was responsible for most of the superb photography), and the principal emphasis is art historical. The volume is Reingard Neumann and Gerhard Murza, *Persische Seiden: Die Bewebekunst der Safawiden und ihrer Nachfolger* (Leipzig, 1988). It is a splendid companion to the volume edited by Carol Bier.

The photography appears to be generally good to excellent throughout, though the photo of no. 79, described as being one of the finest surviving examples of white work embroidery is surely inadequate to illustrate the piece. Carol Bier and her co-authors deserve thanks for this very fine volume.

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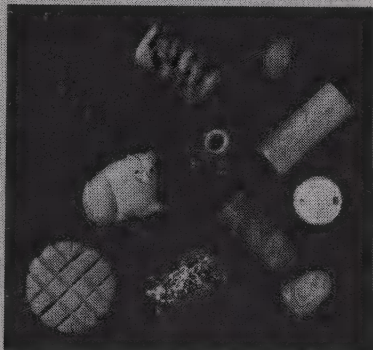
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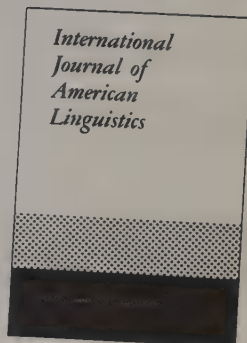
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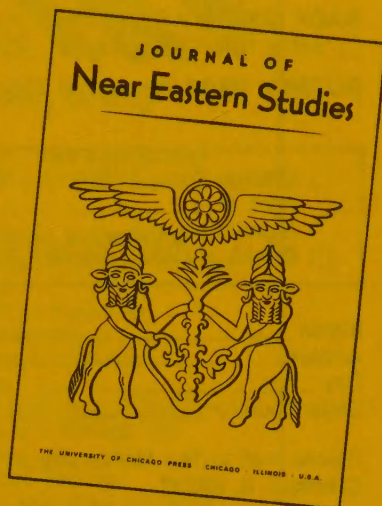
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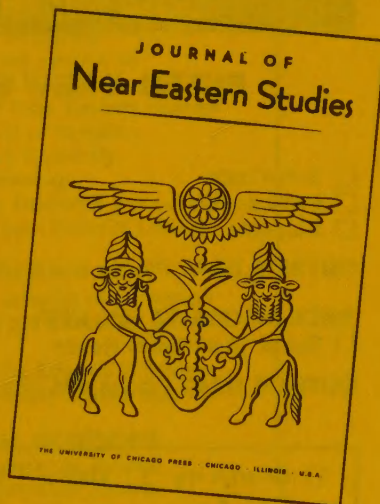
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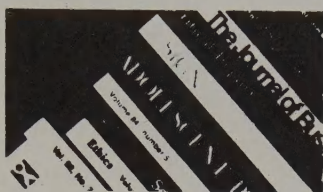
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